

ART. XXI.—*Ancient Geography and Civilization of Maharashtra.*¹

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The abbreviations employed herein are—

A. G. I.—Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India

A. S. W. I.—Archæological Survey of Western India (Reports of)

B. G. or Bom. G.—The volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer

Bom. S. S.—Bombay Sanskrit Series

B. R.—Buddhist Records of the Western World

Cor. Ins. I. or C. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

E. I.—Epigraphia Indica

I. A.—Indian Antiquary

J. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain

S. B. I.—Sacred Books of the East Series

S. B. H.—Sacred Books of the Hindus

In the case of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata the Bombay edition has been used unless otherwise expressly stated.

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF MAHARASHTRA

The subject of the present essay is the Ancient Geography of Maharashtra as collected from Indian and non-Indian sources.

By 'Ancient Geography' I mean Geography from the earliest times, about 1300 A.D., when the modern period of the history of Maharashtra is generally held to begin. Within the limits of time thus described, I propose to deal with many of the topics that are treated in ordinary manuals of Geography in modern times, such as the origin of the name of Maharashtra, the extent of territory comprised in it, its political divisions, mountains, rivers, cities, towns, sacred places, population, castes and communities, trade and communications, language and religion, political administration, &c. Though in no means professing to write the ancient History of Maharashtra (which subject has already been treated by a master mind, viz. Sir Ramkrishna Bhindarkar) it will often be necessary for me to discuss

questions that may be thought with greater propriety to belong to the province of ancient History. But ancient History and Geography are very closely connected and the treatment of one cannot but stray into the domain of the other. The two cannot be kept separate in water tight compartments. History and Geography always act and re-act upon each other.

Before proceeding further it will be well to indicate the various sources which shed light on the ancient Geography of India in general and of Maharashtra in particular.

1 —Indian Sources—

(a) Sanskrit Literature—

- 1 Ancient Vedic Literature
- 2 Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali
- 3 The two epics Ramayana and Mahābhārata
- 4 The Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhāgavata
- 5 Astronomical works, such as the Brihatsaṃhitā, the Śūryasiddhānta
- 6 Dramas, poems and romances such as the Bīlhamāyana of Rājasekhara, the Meghadūta, the Rāghuvamśa, the Dīśakumāra Charita.
- 7 Other Sanskrit works such as the Kāmasūtra, the Yogibhāṣya of Vyāsa, the Bṛhatīathamaṅjarī, the Rājatarīnginī, the Kavyanūṣāsana of Hemachandra and Viṅbhāṭa local Māhātmyas embodying traditional and often fanciful information.

(b) Buddhist Literature such as the Jītakas, the Dīpa Vamśa and Mithavamśa

(c) Jain Literature

(d) Inscriptions on stone and copper published in various books and journals

(e) Coins

* Ancient coins have been of very great use in settling vexed questions in History. They are not, however, of much use in purely geographical questions. Still, there are some inscriptions with well known geographical names, e.g. see Rapson's *Indian Coins* App. p. 14, where we have the names 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀺 , 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀺 1. coin on coins of the red and red-green series B. C.

II — Ancient non-Indian Sources—

- (a) Classical notices of India in the works of Herodotus, Hecataeus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Ptolemy, in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.
- (b) Accounts of Chinese Pilgrims such as Fa Hien, Hsuen Tsing, I-tsing.
- (c) Mahomedan writers, like those in Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, and Alberuni.
- (d) European travellers like Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, Friar Jordanus.

III — Modern works on History and antiquities such as the writings of Dr Bhandarkar, Dr Fleet, Mr Vincent Smith.

Earliest traces of intercourse with the Deccan.

As the ancient Aryans were settled in the Punjab there are naturally no references in the ancient Vedic literature to any place that belongs to the peninsula of India. The most ancient reference that points to the south is perhaps in the *Atareya Brahmana* (VII, 18), where the *Andhras*, *Pundras*,¹ *Śabaras*, *Pulindas* and *Mutibas*² are mentioned as degenerate tribes. So also in the same *Brahmana* (VII 34 9) the Prince *Bhuma* is called *Vudarbha* (of *Vidarbha*, modern *Berar*) and is said to have received instruction from *Parvata* and *Narada* regarding the substitutes for *Soma* juice. Prof. Macdonell's *Vedic Index* says that *Vidarbha* occurs as the name of a place only in the *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brahmana*, where *Māsālis* (dogs) are said to kill tigers. *Vidarbha Kauṇḍinya* is the name of a teacher mentioned in the first two *Upanishads* in the *Bṛhadaranyakopaniṣad* (II 6 3, IV, 6 21). *Vaidarbhi* is the patronymic of a *Bhargava* in the *Prāśnopanishad*. Prof. Macdonell sees a reference to *Reva* (*Narmada*) in the name *Revottara* first occurs in the *Satapatha Brahmana* several times (VII, 8 1, 17 VII, 9, 3, 1). These are almost the only notices in the Vedic literature that in any way point to places south of the *Vindhya*. From this we may safely conclude that even in the latest period of Vedic literature represented by the *Upanishads*, almost the whole of the country south of the *Vindhya* was *terra*

¹ The *Harvyadarsa* of *Daud* associates the city of *काञ्ची* with पुण्ड्रक kmgr नाभिषयमाय परित्यज्युर्गैरिभूषिता। अस्ति काञ्चिपुरी गङ्गामयतनगङ्गिरा नृरा ॥ III 514. It is extremely doubtful whether the *Pundras* of the *Atareya* are identical with the पुण्ड्रक kmgr.

² त एतेषा पुण्ड्र शबरा पुलिन्दा मुनिषा इत्युपनामवर्तते मरुति वैष्णवना दक्ष्णा मुनिषा ।

incognita. The river Narmada or Rewa has always been regarded as we shall see later on as the dividing line between Āryāvarta and the Deccan. Vidarbha lies on the borderland of Āryāvarta and the Andhras and other tribes mentioned in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* probably lived in Kalinga between the mouths of the Godavari and the Krishna.

We are not in a position to fix the exact point of time when the peninsula of India became known to the Aryans of the north. Yaska in his *Nirukta* (not later than 500 B. C.) refers to certain customs of the southern people.² Whether he means the people of the Deccan is not quite clear. In times later than Yaska's the people of the peninsula of India came to be called *Dakṣiṇātya* and their country *Dakṣiṇapatha*. In Pāṇini's *Sūtras* we do not meet with *Dakṣiṇapatha*. But out of the numerous geographical names occurring in his *Sūtras* there are two that point to the southern portion of India. In *Uṣṭadhyāy* IV. 1. 170 and 173 he refers to the two countries named *Asmaka* and *Kalinga*.³ The *Arthaśāstra* (300 B. C.) of Kaṇṭilya, while giving the extent of rainfall in various countries, refers to the countries of *Asmaka* and *Aparanta*.⁴ We shall see later on that *Asmaka* was the name of the country round about the *Ajanta* caves. As geographical names have a tendency to persist, we shall not be quite wrong if we assume that Pāṇini refers to this country. *Kalinga* is the country which corresponds to the northern part of the Madras Presidency between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. The word *Dakṣiṇapatha* is however, found as early as the *Baudhāyana Smṛiti* which quotes a Gāthā of the *Bhallaṅgī*.⁵ The *Arthaśāstra* of Kaṇṭilya contains an interesting discussion as to the relative superiority of trade routes radiating to the south from *Pataliputra* to those going to the north.⁶

५०० निरुक्त III ३ (Roth) 'अभ्रानुकेव पुम पिबूय यमिमुखी स तानकर्मणे विन्ददनाय न यति गतरोहिणीव धनलाभाय दाक्षिणाती त तव यापुत्रा यापतिका सरोहिनि ता तत्राक्षैराश्रयति सा रिक्यं लभते

² मा वाचयत्र अ यमथकलकुगमकादज II 1 73

दधयुवग ३ फलिकुसूरमसादण II २०

³ 'यादशश्रीज ज कुलानां वधममाणन दधेनाद्रानां देशवागनामधेयां शास्त्रमकाव श्रयोविशतिरेव तीनाममितमपरात्तानां हेम यानां च कान्त अधिकरण II २ 15

बोधायनस्मृति (आन दाधम ed. १०) I १ २४०१ ३ * अधाप्त्र भाग्विना गाथा मुताहन्ति । अवतयेऽनमगथा मुताह दनिगायथा । इपावृसिधुसौवीरा एते सकीर्णयोनय II

⁴ अथपयदरि हेमरता दक्षिणापथाद्रूपान् इत्यथम यद ताजिनरूपयमुवलयणा रमावतारा इत्याद्या । मान वीरि-य कन्दलातनाश्रययवो शङ्खवज्रादिमुनः कुलपयथा १५०१११ दातगायव । अधिकरण II १ १४ II २१

In the Mahābhārata the word Dakshinapatha occurs frequently. In the Sabha-parva (31-17) we are told that Shishudha went to Dakshinapatha after conquering the Pandyas. From the Vanaparva we learn that Dakshinapatha was to be reached after crossing Avantī and mountain Rikshī.¹ In the Bhishma-parva we are told that Nila, King of Malushmati with troops called Nilayudhas from Dakshinapatha fought on the side of the Kauravas (Cil Ed of 1834 verse 575). In the Virāṭ-udgrat inscription (No. 1 in A. S. W. I. Vol. V, p. 60) Vedisiri is mentioned as the king of Dakshinapatha about 200 B. C. In the Ramayana, Dakshinapatha is enumerated along with Saurashtra (II, 10-17). Patanjali (240 B. C.) in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pāṇini, I, 1, 19) says that in Dakshinapatha a great lake is called Sarasī instead of "Saras". In the well known Guntur inscription of the Kshatrapa Rudradaman (150 A. D.) Sitakarna is spoken of as the king of Dakshinapatha.² One of the Nasik inscriptions mentions Dakshinapatha (A. S. W. I. IV, p. 110). The Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A. D.) mentions several kings of Dakshinapatha vanquished by that brilliant Gupta Emperor.³ It is not necessary to refer to writers later than the 4th century A. D. Among ancient foreign books it is the Periplus (1st century A. D.) that first mentions Dakshinapades (Dakshinapatha).⁴ Fa Hien (in India from 399 to 415 A. D.) speaks of a country called 'T'athsin' Dikshina, which seems to correspond with the narrower sense of Dakshinapatha (for which see further on). He says: "Going two yojanas south from this, there is a country called T'athsin. Here is a Sangharāma of the former Buddha Kasyapa. It is a construct

एत गच्छन्ति बहवः पयानो दक्षिणापथम् ।

अवनोपश्रवन्त च समतिक्रम्य पर्वतम् ॥

एव विन्ध्यो महाशैलः पयोणा च समुद्रगा ॥

एव पयसि विदर्भाणाममो गच्छन्ति कीमलान् ।

अतः परं च देशीय दक्षिणे दक्षिणापथ ॥

Vanaparva Chap. 61, 17-21

This was said by Nala when leaving Nishadha. If properly interpreted these verses mean that while going from Nishadha to Dakshinapatha one had to cross the territory of Avantī (Eastern Malwa) and Rikshī Parvata (probably the Satpura Range) that several roads led from Nishadha to Dakshinapatha and that Nishadha formed part of Dakshinapatha.

* 'दक्षिणापथे हि पठति सप्तसि स्तम्भ इत्युच्यते ।' Vol. I p. 73 (Kailashan). In another place he speaks of the Dakshinapades as being very fertile तद्वत् पियतद्वित् राशिणांवा' Vol. I p. 8.

¹ I. A. Vol. VII p. 262. A. S. W. I. II p. 28.

² See Cor. Ins. I. V. I. III p.

³ See I. A. Vol. VIII p. 127.

ed out of a great mountain of rock hollowed to the proper shape

The country of Pathan is precipitous and the roads dangerous.

I have illustrated the occurrence of the name Dakshinapatha from the times of the Baudhayan Smṛiti (500 B.C.) to the times of Samudragupta and Fa Hien.

I shall next turn to other places in the peninsula of India referred to in ancient records.

Kaṭyāyana in his Vartikas has several important allusions to places in the south. He mentions a country named Mahishman (in his Vartika on Pāṇini IV 2 87) and the Pandvas (in Vartika on Pāṇini IV 1 168). Is it too much to suppose that this country called Mahishman is identical with the Mahisamandala referred to in the Mahavamsa and with Mahishmati a city on the Narmada? The countries of Chola and Kerala are included in the Kambhojadigana² and Kishkindha is mentioned in the Parasharadigana (Pāṇini VI, 1, 157). The edicts of Aśoka furnish very interesting information about the peninsula of India. The 2nd Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pandyas, Satyaputa and Ketala (Kerala) puta.³ The 5th Rock Edict speaks of the Rasikas and the Ptenikas and the Aprantas.⁴ Who the Kustikas were is not settled beyond doubt. General Cunningham thought it to be a name of Surashtra (Kathiawar). The word corresponds to the Sanskrit word Rishṭika and may have been employed to denote

¹ See Beal's Fa Hien Vol. I p. LXVIII.

² The prevalence of the name of Dakshinapatha gave rise to the term Uttarapatha for the whole or some portion of Northern India. In the Harshacharita we read that Rājya radhana was sent to Uttarapatha to vanquish the Hugas (Bom S. S. P. 20). In a Chalukya grant the Emperor Harsha is called the sovereign of उत्तरापथ (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 14 p. 26 श्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपतिर्भीहर्षपराजपोषलब्धपरनामधेय ... श्रीपुलकेशिवरम) In another grant Pulakasa II is described as ' समरसक्तसकलोनरापथेश्वर श्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजपोषलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेय सत्याश्रय श्रीपृथ्वीवर्धनमहाराज (I. A. V. L. B. p. 46). In the Yājñatīk (Cowell Vol. IV p. 30 No. 454) a king महाकिस is said to have reigned in उत्तरापथ in the कम्भोजादिभ्य इति वनतभ्यम्. The बृहत्संहिता (24) and the भागवतपुराण (92-6) refer to उत्तरापथ. In Otarsha a Naik inscription (B. G. Vol. 16 p. 587; A. S. W. I. IV p. 24) a प्राकृत equivalent of उत्तरापथ? The Commentator of the कामसूत्र identifies उत्तरापथ with Uhlka (II 5 p. 120). Horse dealers from उत्तरापथ are spoken of in the Pāṇika Vinayapitika Vol. III p. 6).

³ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वनतभ्यम्. Vartika on IV 1 175.

⁴ See A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 16.

See A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 2.

the people of that country that afterwards came to be called Mahārāshtra. The Ptenikas are generally regarded to be so denominated after Pratihthina (Modern Pathan). The words 'Anye Āpiranta' occurring in the 5th Edict at Khalasi, Ujjar and Dhauli, if interpreted as meaning 'other western countries,' lead to the conclusion that the Ristikas and Ptenikas must have been some people in the west. The 13th Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pandyas, Andhras, Pulindas and couples the Bhojas and Ptenikas (Ptenikya at Khalasi) together.¹ The Bhojas ruled in the Berars for several centuries.² The Vartikas of Katyayana mention the Bhojas as Kshatriyas.³ The Bhīrhut Stupa (200 B.C.) in the Central Provinces records in an inscription on one of the pillars of the railing a gift from Gorikhita (Gorakshita) of Nasik.⁴ The Nanaghat inscription points out that about 200 B.C. the country about Junnar was the seat of civilization and Brahmanical culture. Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya notices Kanchipura, Kerala, Mahishmati, Nāsikya (Nasik) and Vaidarbha.⁵ In the times of the Suttanipita we meet with the story that the disciples of Buddha with their faces turned to the north went to Patutthana of Alaka first, then to Mahissati and then to Ujjeni.⁶ The Periplus of the Erythraean sea speaks of Prathana (modern Pathan) and Tagara as two specially important market towns of Dakshinabades (Dakshinapatha).⁷ Ptolemy also mentions Prathana as the royal seat of Ptolemaios (Pulumayi).⁸

Taking all that has been said above about Dakshinapatha and the notices of various places and countries in the peninsula of India, we can affirm that several centuries before the Christian era the whole of the peninsula from Cape Comorin to the Narmada had been explored that it contained populous and prosperous cities at that period and that it was divided into several well-organized kingdoms.

I shall now try to point out the extent of the country known as Dakshinapatha. The word seems to have been used in some cases for the whole of the peninsula from the Setu to the Narmadā, as for

¹ See A. S. W. I. Vol. II pp. 80-87.

² भीमरुक् king of the Bhojas in Bhīrhakata and called ruler of the दाक्षिणात्यः submitted to अशोक. See for references J. R. A. S. I. 1908 p. 315.

³ See Śārika, on ११३ IV १६.

⁴ Cunningham's Bhārhut St. p. 138.

⁵ 'मासिकगौरवितय धर्मो दान वमुक्त भारियाय.'

⁶ Vol. II p. 298 (काञ्चीपुर, काञ्चीपुरक) Vol. II p. 290 (केरल) Vol. II p. 35 (माहिष्मती), Vol. III, p. 40 (नामिक्य 'नासिक नगरमिति सकाशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते').

⁷ See S. B. E. Vol. 10 (Part 3) p. 188.

⁸ Schöff's Periplus p. 47. See 1.

⁸ M. Müller's Ptolemy p. 25.

example in the grant of the eastern Chakva King Vishnu-Vardhana Rājārāja I, which speaks of the founder Vishnu Vardhana as having conquered the seven and a half lakhs Dakṣiṇapatha¹ between the Setu and the Narmadā. So also in the inscription of Samudraguṇṭha Pishapuri (modern Pithapuram in the Madras Presidency), Erandaṇḍa (Erandol in Khandesh), Kīncī Vengā and Deśarāshṭra are included in Dakṣiṇapatha, i.e., it covered the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin. The Purāṇas understand the word Dakṣiṇapatha in the same sense (See Viṣṇu Chap. 45, 100 ff., Matsya Chap. 114, Brāhma Chap. 27, 54 ff.) But the word Dakṣiṇapatha was usually understood as designating a more limited territory excluding Malabar and the Tamil countries and covering a large portion of modern Barāt, the Central Provinces, the Vizian's Dominions and the whole of Maharashtra excluding the Konkan i.e., the country a little below the Narmadā and above the Kṛṣṇā.² As Śiḥadeva is said in the Mahābhārata to have gone to Dakṣiṇapatha after conquering the Pāṇḍyas, it follows that the Pāṇḍya territory in the extreme south of India was not included in Dakṣiṇapatha.³ The Vāyupurāṇa mentions the Godārī, the Kṛṣṇā and others as rivers of Dakṣiṇapatha rising in the Sahya mountain but does not style the Tapi and the Narmadā in that way. Hence it may be assumed that they were not looked upon by the author of that Purāṇa as included in Dakṣiṇapatha. The Periplus⁴ seems to have included in Dakṣiṇapades all the country from Barygaza (Bombay) to Naura and Tyndis the first markets of Dromica (i.e., the Dravida country). The term 'Deccan' in modern times is similarly employed to designate the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin.⁵ The commentator of the Kamasūtra

¹ See p. 1, Vol. IV p. 305. 'मैत्रुनेर्मैदामय साधमलक्ष दक्षिणपथः पाल्यामाम' राजशेखर n. h. बालरामायण VI Act (Benares Pandit Vol. III for 1868-70, p. 131) speaks of Revā (Narmadā) as the dividing line between आर्यावर्त and दक्षिणपथ. 'या किल भगवन् आर्यावर्तदक्षिणपथयोर्धिभागरेखा'.

² See Foulkes n. l. A. Vol. 16 at p. 4. Bom. G. Vol. I part 2 p. 100.

³ सभाषर 31. 16-18 'युद्धे पाण्ड्यराजेन दिवस बहुलानुग्रहः न जित्वा स महाबाहु प्रययौ दक्षिणपथम् । सुहामासादयामास किञ्चित् लोकविभुताम् ॥ तदा रत्नाम्बुजादाय पुरी माहिष्यती ययौ ।'

⁴ See Scliff's Periplus p. 44.

⁵ In this sense it is that part of मरुतवर्ष, which was beyond the pale of Āryāvarta. The Balaḥṭyāra Smṛti says 'The country of the Āryā lies to the east of the region where the river Sarasatī disappears to the west of the black forest to the north of the पारियायमोऽराष्ट्रम् to the south of हिमालय' (पारिवन्तशान्तापद्मालव्वान् दक्षिणेन हिम-

says that Dakshinapatha is the country to the south of the Narmada. It also more usually denotes the territory between the Narmada and the Krishna and pretty closely corresponds with Maharashtra when used in an extended sense.¹ The term Dakshinapatha was thus applied in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Christian era to that territory which was also called Maharashtra in later times.

MAHARASHTRA

I shall now take up the question as to the early notices of Maharashtra. The term Maharashtra as the name of a country does not occur so far as is at present known in any record before the Christian era. It does not occur in the *Rigveda* nor in the *Mahabharata*, though the *Puranas* mention the country of Maharashtra (V. 130. 45. 110 and Brahma 27. 55 and Markandeya 57. 46 all of which put the Mahishikas or Mahishakas after Mah-rashtra, while the Matsya Chap. 114 reads Nivarashtra before Mahishika). Probably the earliest unmistakable reference to Maharashtra occurs in the Mahavamsa the Chronicle of Ceylon the traditional date of which is 459—474 A. D.² The Mahavamsa mentions that certain Theros were sent as missionaries to several countries by Moggalliputta Tissa in the 17th year of the reign of Asoka. He deputed the Thero Majjhantiko to Kashmir and Gandhara and the Thero Mahadeva to Mah-samandala. He deputed the Thero Rakkhito to Vanavasi and the Thero Yonadhamma Rakkhito to Aparantika. He deputed the Thero Mahadhammarakkhito to Maharatta the Thero Mah-rakhlita to the Yona country.³ Then again we read

‘वत्समुद्रं पारिषथ तदायवर्तं नमिन्त्य आचारं प्रमाणम् । गंगायमुनयारतरमित्येके’
 दौधापन । 1. 37-38 S. R. E. Vol. 4. p. 47) Patanjali in his Mahabhashya gives the same meaning of आयवर्त (‘भागादशान् पयस्कालकृत्वात् दक्षिणेन हिमवत्समुन्नेन पारिषथम्’ K. bh. Vol. I. 475 and Vol. III. 74). The *Menussmriti* II p. 22) places आयवर्त between the eastern and western oceans and between the हिमालय and the विन्ध्य (आत्समुद्रानुषे पूर्वानाममुद्रानुषमिमान् । तयोरेवातरमिर्वीरायवर्तं तदुर्ध्वा ॥) The *अमरकोश* says ‘आर्यावर्तं पुण्यधर्मैर्भय विध्यहिमागयो’

¹ See V. A. Smith's "Early History of India," Chap. 5 p. 421 (3rd edition). A. Lang's *Ancient India*, p. 20. Dr. Rhoades appears to take the term Decan in this restricted sense in his History of the Decan.

² But Dr. Fleet holds that the *Mahavamsa* was composed between 550-510 A. D. *J. R. A. S.* 1897 p. 312. See also Introduction to the *Mahavamsa* by Geiger and Bode p. XII. धनुमेन reigned at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ. About this time the *Mahavamsa* was composed.

³ Turnour's *Mahavamsa* p. 7. Geiger's *Mahavamsa* Chap. XII p. 81 and p. 84 see also V. nayaraka (Widenberg), Vol. III p. 34 the Samantapadika which mentions the same countries and missionaries.

'the sanctified disciple Mahadharmma rakkhito repairing to Mahārāja preached the Mahānarada Kassapo Jātaka'.¹ The Bṛhat-saṃhita of Varahamihira (about 550 A.D.) mentions the people of Mahārashtra.² In the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. the Chālukya Satyāśraya Pulakēśi II is praised as having attained to the position of the overlord of the three Mahārashtrakas.³ The famous Chinese traveller, Hiouen Tsiang who was in India between 629-635 A.D., names Mahārashtra as Moholich and gives very interesting and detailed information about it.⁴ The Kāmasūtra in a coarse way registers the peculiarities of the women of Mahārashtra. The Prakrit grammar of Vararuchi refers to Mahārashtri as the Prakrit *par excellence*. Thus the term Mahārashtri when used for a Prakrit dialect, must be connected with the country of Mahārashtra is expressly stated by Dandin⁵ (6th century A.D.)

The above data go to establish beyond the possibility of doubt that from the 5th century at all events the term Mahārashtra began to be employed as the name of a country.

But the matter does not rest here. We can urge though not without hesitation that the name Mahārashtra goes back to a few centuries before the Christian era. As the Mahāvamsa is based upon ancient traditions, it is not unlikely that the names of the various countries mentioned by it as the centres of the proselytising activities of Buddhist Missionaries had come down to it from ancient times and were not invented by it. Then we have to note that in several inscriptions at Nanaghat, Bhaja, Karle and Kanheri (ranging from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) many donors have the appellation Mahārāja prefixed to their names and female donors are designated Mahārājñi.⁶ The

¹ Turnour's Mahāvamsa p. 74.

² बृहत्संहिता (Bern ed.) 1018 'भाय्ये रसविवर्जिते पण्यसाकन्यका महाराष्ट्र'.

³ L.A. V. 18, p. 245 ff. अगमदधिपतित्वेन यो महाराष्ट्रकानां नवनवतिमहस्रपामभाजो जयणाम् ॥

⁴ See Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 255 ff.; Beal's Life of Hiouen Tsiang, p. 126. Horn. C. I. Part II, p. 184; Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 353 ff.

⁵ कात्यायनः 1.31 'महाराष्ट्रयो भायो मरु मरुत विदुः'.

⁶ See A. S. W. J. Vol. V, p. 60 (Nanaghat No. 1); 'यदिमरिस महारज्जि' Burgess and Bhagwanlal's cave temples of Western India, p. 24 (Bhaja cave inscription No. 2).

⁷ महारजिस बोमिकीपुतम विहुदतम *ibid.* p. 26 (Bhaja Cave No. 2) महाराजयवात्तिकाय महारजिय महारजिनिय 3. 13 d. p. 48 (Karle inscription No. 2) 'महारजिस गोपापुस अगिमियणकस A. S. W. J. Vol. V, p. 86 (Kanheri No. 20) 'महारेजिय वात्तिकाय महारजिनिय 21 J. B. B. K. A. No. 21 p. 51 (Bhaja No. 21) महारजिकोमिक

bearing of this on the origin of the term Maharashtra will be discussed later on. Scholars like Dr Stevenson and Dr Bhagvanlal think that the terms 'Mahārūhi' and 'Maharajuni' in these places mean 'great warrior' and 'wife of a great warrior' respectively. But I submit with great deference to these eminent scholars that there are serious objections against their interpretations. In the first place there is no great propriety in calling a person a 'Maharathi' (great warrior) in making a brief votive dedication. Moreover, if we scan the numerous inscriptions contained in the books referred to in the note above, we shall find that they generally register the donor's domicile, his residence, his rank and position, his clan or family, his occupation and his relationship by blood or otherwise to other people. In this light to interpret 'Mahārūhi' as meaning one who belongs to the country or clan of 'Maharajha' would be very natural and appropriate. Besides it is not clear that all the donors to whose name the appellation 'Mahārājhi' is prefixed were such persons as to deserve the high sounding title 'Maharathi'. On the contrary some of them at least appear to have been persons of a more peaceful turn of mind. It will be seen from the inscriptions to be found at the places referred to above that the donor's name is almost invariably preceded by a word denoting his place of residence in the ablative or by some derivative word co-ordinated with the donor's name (wherever his place of residence or domicile is at all intended). There is no reason why this should not be so in the case of Mahārūhi or Mahārājhi. But the most formidable objection is that the interpretation entirely begs the question at issue. To those who affirm that the term 'Maharajhi' signifies a person of the country or clan of Maharajha it would not be a satisfactory answer to say that, as Māhārāshtra is specifically mentioned as a country only from the 5th Century A. D. the term 'Maharajhi' must be interpreted differently. The only way of making their interpretation doubtful would be by showing that in parts of India other than Māhārāshtra and in connection with persons who could not have belonged to Maharashtra the term Maharajhi is used in Prakrit epigraphical records of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era in the sense of 'great warrior'.

I think therefore it is possible (I do not use a stronger phrase) that Maharashtra was so called from about 200 B. C. (the age of the Vanaghat inscription) if not earlier.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MAHĀRĀSHTRA

It is unfortunate that scholars are not at one as to the origin of the term Maharashtra. It was Molesworth who in his *Marathi Dictionary* (Intro. p. 23) started the startling theory that Maharashtra was

so called after the Mahars, one of the lowest castes among Hindus, the members of which are untouchable. The Rev Dr John Wilson lent the weight of his authority to that theory.¹ He quotes the Marathi proverb गांव आहे तेथे महारवाडा आहे in support of his opinion and compares the word with Gurjara rāshtra Saurashtra or Sura rashtra (the country of Suras). The idea of these venerable scholars seems to be that the Mahars represent the aboriginal races of the present Maharashtra, who were vanquished by the Aryan invaders from the north and that the conquerors called the land the conquered aborigines inhabited after the latter. I frankly own that I fail to understand how the Marathi proverb supports the theory that Maharashtra is the country of Mahars. All that the proverb literally means is that the Mahars are to be found in every village and it implies nothing more than the expression 'black sheep' does in English. This theory finds believers even now.² Oppert identifies the Mallas with the Mahars and says 'Maharashtra was also called 'Mallarashtra' the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as Maras who are better known as Murs or Mhurs. Mhar was eventually transformed into Mahar in fact both forms exist in modern Marathi. Two terms identical in meaning Mallarashtra and Maharashtra were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion and with the waning fortunes of the Mahars their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Maharashtra was explained as meaning the 'Great Kingdom' instead of the kingdom of Mahars or Mallas' (on the original inhabitants of Bharatvarsha' 1893 p. 22 and foot note). A more uncritical passage than this it would be difficult to find. Has Dr Oppert brought forward any single epigraphic record of the ancient Mahar kings of Maharashtra? By what philological laws does he identify Mallas with Mhar? Has he shown any ancient Sanskrit writings locating the Mallas in what is Maharashtra at present? Parvati which Dr Wilson identified with Ptolemy's Pouravaros, is not the name of a tribe but an official designation. It is the same as Patavari the holder of a Patta a royal or other grant on copper or a piece of cloth (i.e., a village or other officer). Reliance is placed on what the Mahars say as to their being the original inhabitants. Granting that they are so it does not necessarily follow that Maharashtra was so named after them. There are numerous scholars who dismiss this theory of the origin of the name Maharashtra as untenable. It is not explained how of all others it was the Mahars,

¹ See I. A. Vol III p. 221

² See Baden-Powell in J. R. A. S. for 1893 p. 305, foot note a

³ Id. See Sir Walter Elliot in I. A. Vol. 5 p. 108

who are lowest in the social scale that give a name to the country. In the case of the Gurjaras we can understand a country being designated after them as they were conquerors. Epigraphy has failed to bring forward the slightest trace of the conquest of Maharashtra by the Mahars at any period of history. There are scholars who would identify the Mahars with the Mihirs (Persian 'Mihr') and Mutrakas who were a branch of the Huns that under Toramana and Mihirakula overthrew the early Guptas in Kathiawar and in their turn met their match in the Senapati Bhatirka¹ of Valabhi. Granting for a moment the correctness of this identification it is not clear how Maharashtra came to be called after them. Ancient history does not tell us when the Mihirs or Mutrakas overran the Mithra country as they are said to have overrun Sindh, Rajputana and Kathiawar. If the Mahars were like the Mutrakas conquerors no explanation is offered why they fell so low in the social scale in subsequent times. But the best reason for rejecting this theory of the identity of the Mutrakas with the Mihirs and of Maharashtra being named after the Mahars is furnished by the data mentioned above as to the times when Maharashtra came to be so called. The Huns under Toramana and Mihirakula fought the Gupta Emperors in the latter half of the 5th Century A. D.² But we have already seen that the Mahavamsa composed about the same time mentions Maharattas as the name of a country. Hence the term Maharashtra had come into vogue at least as early as the time when the Huns under Toramana were fighting Skandigupta. If we accept the theory that Maharashtra was so named after the Mihirs by the Aryan invaders in the dawn of the history of the Deccan it is not unreasonable to expect that the earliest references to the country south of the Vindhya should mention Maharashtra. Instead of the latter we find such names as Yamka and Dakshinapatha. Eminent scholars like Dr Fleet think that the earliest mention of Maharashtra as a country is that in the Mahavamsa. But it can never be said that the present Maharashtra was conquered by the Aryan invaders only in the 4th Century A. D. or thereabouts. Aryan culture had spread over Maharashtra several centuries before the date of the Mahavamsa.

¹ Oppert (in a book mentioned above p. 47) says that Mihirwara (Ajmer) and Mirwar (Jodhpur) are the ancient home of the Mihirs. See I. A. Vol. 3 pp. 361-2, where the Mihirs are traced as far as Fuaraven now called Meerwa in Rajputana. *Ind. Bom. G. I.* part 1, p. 27 for the identification of Mutrakas with Mihirs, the Mithra or Merh tribe. *Bom. G. I.* part 1 pp. 119-6. Dr Fleet (Inscr. to Gupta inscriptions, p. 12) suggests that the Mutrakas, that is, the Mihirs, were the particular family or clan among the Huns to which Toramana and Mihirakula belonged. But see against this J. R. A. S. for 1925, p. 4.

² See Cor. Ins. I. A. & C. pp. 58 and 60. *Ins. to A. I. L.* part 1, p. 3.

What then is the origin of the term *Maharashtra*? Two solutions seem possible. The one is very ably set forth by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in his 'Early History of the Deccan'. "The *Rāṣṭrikas* or—according to Mansehra version *Raṣṭrikas*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *Rashtrakas*, were very likely the people of *Maharashtra*, for a tribe of the name of *Rajjas* has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of it assumed the name *Rashtrakūṭas* and governed the country before the *Chalukyas* acquired power. In later times chieftains of the name of *Rajj* is governed *Sugandhivarti* or *Saundatti* in the Belgaum District. *Bhojas* we know ruled over the country of *Vidarbha* or *Berar* and also in other parts of the Deccan. Just as the *Bhojas* called themselves *Mahabhojas*, the *Rāṣṭrikas*, *Rajjas*, *Rajhis* or *Rajyas* called themselves *Maharajhis* or *Maharajyas* and thus the country in which they lived came to be called *Maharajhi* the Sanskrit for which is *Maharashtra*." 1

This is one way of explaining the origin of the term Maharashtra. The only objection against this explanation is that the connecting links are rather weak. The *Rashtrakūṭas* attained to the sovereignty of the Deccan only in the 8th Century A.D. while the term *Maharashtra* came into vogue at least three centuries before that period. It is the *Andhrabhyās* or *Satavahans* the *Yakshas* and the *Chalukyas* that held the sovereignty of the Deccan in succession from 200 B.C. to about 750 A.D. With great diffidence I make bold to suggest another explanation of the term *Maharashtra*. *Maharashtra* means 'great or wide country'. From the remotest times of which historical records are available there was a great forest running through the peninsula of India variously designated *Mahātintara* or *Dipdharvata* or *Mahājāl*. As the great forest came to be gradually cleared up and explored as towns and villages spring up, as population increased this great tract of forest land came to be called *Maharashtra* as also *Mahāskin*.

1 *Born. Cl.* Vol. I part 2 p. 146. But see *Born. Cl.* Vol. I, p. 182, note 2, where Dr. Fleet criticises the views of Dr. Bhandarkar and takes *Mahāra* as meaning 'wide or a great warren' and calls attention to such Marathi words as *पटपट* *हमपट* &c. However, it is that the *पटपट* does not themselves is the *पटपट* of *Rajputana* and hence and that *Rajja* is an abbreviation of *पटपट* and not the original name of which *पटपट* is an amplification as Dr. Bhandarkar thinks. See *Born. Cl.* I, p. 182. There is much to be said in favour of Dr. Fleet's comparison of the terms *Rajja* and *Rashtrakas* can be easily shown to be closely connected as being in the order of phonology. But the meaning he assigns to *Mahāra* cannot be accepted for explaining the above. *Parasurama* does not tell us that the *Rajjas* became *rajyas* as a result of the time when the name *Mahāra* was connected with the first time.

Ura¹ It was probably during the time of the Andhrabhntyas or Satavahanas that Mahārāshtra came to be so called (i.e., about 200 B.C.) The Satavahanas were very powerful and their dominions extended from the Coromandel Coast on the east to the Ghats on the west. Paithan was their capital in the western portion of the Deccan. There are many countries the latter portion of the names of which ends in Rashtra, the first portion being not always easily explicable. Kathia-

¹ See Pargier's article on the Geography of Rīmāyana in J. R. A. S. for 1804 p. 243. He comes to the conclusion that in the times of the Rāmāyana Dandaka appears to have been a general name which comprised all the forest from Bundelkhand down to the river K. shya. According to the list of Tithas in the Vanaparva (Chap. 83, 40-41) the Dandaka ranya seems to have been located somewhere between the Tāp and Payashvī on the one hand and Central India on the other. Dorn & Vol. 23 p. 78, says that eight places in the Bhopal District such as Aivali, Badli, Bagalkot, &c. are connected by local tradition with the Dandaka forest. The Rīmāyana speaks of a city called Vajayanta in Dandakāraṇya अयोध्याकाण्ड 9. 3. 'दिशामाख्याय कैकेयी दक्षिणा दण्डकान् प्रति।

वैजयन्तमिति ख्यातं पुरं यत्र तिमिरश्च ॥' Is Vajayanta the same as Vagayant the Byzantium of Ptolemy? The Virkarakṣya Purāṇa enumerates the Vaidarbhas along with the Dandakas (Chap. 57, 47 'वैदर्भा दण्डके महे') The Periplus also referring to the region called Dakshinabades says 'The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains and all kinds of wild beasts: leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, baboons of many sorts and many populous nations as far as the Ganges.' (Schoff's edition p. 43, Sec. 50). Hsueh-Tsang's travels contain a reference to a wild forest between K. ng Kanapula (कोकणपुर) and Moholacha (महाराष्ट्र). From th. going north-west we enter a great forest wild, where savage beasts and bands of robbers inflict injury on travelers. Going thus 2400 or 2500 li we come to the country of Moholacha (Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 233). Even so late an author as Hemādri locates Doogun in 'Nagadara, which he says was on the confines of the Dandakaraṇya (Born & I part 2 p. 23). The Allahabad stone-pillar inscription of समुद्रगुप्त informs us that the region called महाकान्तार formed a part of Dakṣiṇapatha (Corpus Ins. I Vol. III p. 7). The Khoh copperplate of महाराजसमर्थ (गुप्तसंवत् 200, i.e. 525-29 A.D.) speaks of हारिन्द (a lot of समर्थ and वर्णन Dabhala (Bundelkhand) with the 18 forest kingdoms. (Corpus Ins. III p. 124). The बृहत्संहिता mentions a country called महावि in the south 'कर्णामहाराजिविश्वरूपनासिष्यकोमिरिन्नोल' Chap. 14, v. 13. In the Uttarakhṇḍa the दण्डकारण्य is located between विश्व and शैव and is said to have been originally a prosperous kingdom ruled by दण्ड the youngest of the hundred sons of इक्ष्वाकु and reduced to a wilderness for having not committed a rape on the daughter of धर्मि (Chap. 8 vv. 18-19). The कामेश्वर describes the plight of क. दण्डवर्धन, who perished for casting anxious eyes towards a Brahmin girl. The commentator says that his kingdom was the same as दण्डकारण्य.

war has, from very ancient times been named Surashtra.¹ We do not know for certain why it was called a good kingdom. Perhaps it was so called because it was a fertile or flourishing country. Some explain it as the land of Sus. But what people were called Sus, nobody can definitely say. In various epigraphical records we come across regions called Karnarashtra, Goparashtra, Devarashtra and Purvarashtra without being able to determine their exact location.² From the details furnished in the note below it will be seen that all these four regions were included in Dikshinapatha used in the wider sense. Hence it is possible to derive Maharashtra as meaning the Great Country.³

THE EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES OF MAHARASHTRA

It is difficult to assign exact limits to the extent of Maharashtra in ancient times. In modern times the exact boundaries may be approximately obtained by taking the extent of the territories over which the Marathi language is spoken. On the west it extends from

¹ The Baudhayana Smṛiti mentions सुराष्ट्र as a country with people of mixed origin. *Ibid* page 66 above. In the Pāṇinīya Śūkashtā Saurashtrika woman is referred to. The रामायण speaks of सौराष्ट्र as the abode of दशरथ 'भाषानाम्नि धुसौवीरान् सौराष्ट्र्याम् पार्थिवान् ॥' (I 12-37) 'श्रविष्ठा सिन्धुसीर्वीरा सौराष्ट्र दक्षिणापथा ॥' (II 30-37). In a Nasik inscription of Gotama putra the Prakrit form Suratha occurs (J B B R A S. vol. V, p. 126, 4). In the Girnar inscription of रुद्रदामन्, सुराष्ट्र is mentioned (A. S. W. I Vol. II p. 128). In the Junagadh rock-cut inscription of रुद्रदामन् (433 A. D.) we read सर्वेषु भूत्येष्वपि सहतेषु यो मे प्रशिष्याविलिखाम् सुराष्ट्रान् (Cor. Ins. I Vol. III p. 9). A grant of धुवसिन of वलभी dated वलभीसंवत् 310 (629 A. D.) has सुराष्ट्र बालापकपथके भसन्तपाम् (I A. vol. VI p. 15). See Bom. G. Vol. I part I p. 6. Its earliest foreign mention is perhaps Strabo (B. C. 50 to 20 A. D.) Sargosius and Ptolemy (A. D. 150). Oratura Ptolemy and the Periplus call it Surastrene. The Māhābhārata (S. B. I Vol. 36 p. 211) refers to the people of Surashtra.

² A कर्मराष्ट्र country is mentioned in an eastern चालुक्य grant (I A. vol. 20, p. 100). गोपराष्ट्र seems to be Nagik. नागवर्धन, son of जयसिंह brother of the great पुलकेशि II made a grant of Balegrāma in the गोपराष्ट्र district (J B B R A S. Vol. II p. 112; J B B R A S. Vol. 14 p. 26 and Bom. G. I part 2 p. 183). In the भीमराष्ट्र Chattr. 24, we meet with a country called गोपराष्ट्र दशराष्ट्र mentioned as a part of दक्षिणापथ conquered by समुद्रगुप्त (Cor. Ins. I, Vol. III p. 71). A coin has been found to identify it with महाराष्ट्र or देशगिरि (J B B R A S. for 1877 p. 874). The Arang copperplate of श्रीमहाजयराज records a grant of Pambā in the country of पूर्वराष्ट्र from शरभपुर and the Raypur copper plate contains a grant of श्रीमाहिष्ठा in the पूर्वराष्ट्र made in the शरभपुर (C. Ins. In. I & 4 III, pages 191 and 193).

³ Dr. Brandt (Introd. to the South Indian Palaeography p. 1) said that Rāṣṭri was a metaphorical perversion of Ratta which he held to be equivalent to Canarese and Telugu Rādd or Rāddu.

Umran to Goa, on the north it extends partly to the river Narmada and in some places to the Tapi, which separates it from Gujerath. From the neighbourhood of Gavilgad it turns eastward in the direction of Betul and Seoni. From Nagpur it turns towards the south to Chanda and then to the west along the Pranganga river. Then it runs south to the Godavari, from which in an irregular line it runs southward to Sholapore and Bijapur, from which it gets to the Krishna which separates it from Canarese, then it runs south west and west to Goa.¹ The evidence of language for determining the boundaries of a country is, of course, a very uncertain one. For political and other reasons, languages often come to be spoken by people who originally belonged to a different country altogether and employed a different tongue. In spite of this drawback the boundaries within which a language is current furnish tolerably correct limits for the extent of a country. I hope to be able to show that the boundaries of Maharashtra from ancient times corresponded pretty closely with the boundaries of the Marathi language in modern times.

From the list of countries contained in the Mahavamsa to which Buddhist Missionaries were sent by Moggalliputta Tissa we can form some estimate, though necessarily vague of the extent of Maharashtra. The countries are Kasmira, Gandhara, Mahasamanvata, Vamsa, Aparantaka, Maharashtra, Yona, Himadira country and Suvarnabhumi.² Out of these the four countries beginning with Mahasamanvata clearly belong to the Deccan. Mahasamanvata is the country about Mahishmati on the Narmada.³ Vamsavata is the ancient kingdom of Vamsavata (modern North Canara) and Aparantaka is the strip of land between the Sahyadri and the sea called the Konkan. So we shall not be wrong if we assume that Maharashtra was the country between the Narmada on the north, Konkan on the west and the kingdom of Lantavasi on the South. This corresponds very well with the limits of Maharashtra as derived from the boundaries of the Marathi language (except that here Konkan is excluded). The Ahojain inscription of 634 A. D. says that there were three Maharashtra which together comprised 99,000 villages.⁴ What these three subdivisions were I find

¹ See I. A. V. d. III p. 221 f. *Elm.* 4 of Mahab. and the *Gov. P. I.* part 2. In no other inscription of the Candavard tribe is the limits of Canarese mentioned. See Linguistic Survey of India V. i. VII p. 1.

² See Coner's *महवम्स*, Chap. XII pp. 1-5.

³ See D. Fleet's *J. R. A. S.* 41 p. 40 ff and *J. R. A. S.* 49 p. 145. R. N. R. A. however identifies Mahasamanvata with Mysore. *J. R. A. S.* 59 p. 51 and *J. I. A. S.* 1907 p. 221 and also by Mr. Vyasaraja in his *Ancient India* p. 71. I have seen some authorities which would be the sounder of the two.

⁴ See page 145 above.

raishtra were we shall see later on. From several grants the villages mentioned in which can be satisfactorily identified we shall see that in ancient times the villages were at least as large as in modern times.¹ The probabilities are that the sites of villages were, if anything larger in ancient times than at present. Population was not so dense as it is now. The same village was often split up into two in later times. Therefore we shall not miscalculate if we take the 99 000 villages comprised in Maharashtra in the 7th Century as having been as large as the villages at present. Dr Fleet says that there are less than 44,000 villages and hamlets in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh and the Native States.² To allow room for 99 000 villages Maharashtra must have been at least double of this and must have extended up to the Narmada on the North, the Krishna on the South, and far into the Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions. From Hiouen Tsang's accounts we see that Maharashtra was about 2400 or 2500 li (i.e., about 400 miles according to Cunningham)³ to the north west of Kongkinripulo (कौकिनपुर) and that its extent was about 5000 li (i.e., about 800 miles).⁴ He further says that the capital borders in the west on a great river and that going from Maharashtra 1000 li to the west and crossing the Naimoto (Narmada) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukiechepo⁵ (Bharukichchappa i.e. modern Broach). We are further told that on the eastern frontier of Maharashtra there was a rock cut Buddhist Vihara, which seems to have been the Ajanta caves. All these details point to the present Maharashtra excluding Barar and Central Provinces as Ajanta is mentioned on the eastern frontier.⁶ Almost the same details are given in Hiouen Thsang's list,⁷ except that Broach is said to be to the north west instead of in the west as in the travels. In the Bāhir mūyina of Rājasekhara we find that while Rama and Sita are on their journey from Ceylon to Ayodhya in the Pushpakavimāna Sugriva draws Rama's attention to Maharashtra and Rama in his turn at the same moment pours into the ears of Sita a eulogy of Vidarbha and then refers to Kuntala as the seat of the

1. See I.A. 17 p. 187-82 (Ragunra grant of Bindla II dated Śaka 411 i.e. 491-92 A.D.) I.A. Vol. 17 p. 184 (The Kalabadduk grant of Bhallama III dated 21st 94th 125 A.D. in this case).

2. Bom. C. Vol. I Part 2, p. 268 n. 2.

3. A.G.I. Appendix B, p. 572.

4. Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II p. 236.

5. Beal's B.R. Vol. II p. 257.

6. Dr Fleet says that the country called Maharashtra by Hiouen-Thsang would have been more appropriately called Kuntala in Mahābhārata, Bom. C. vol. I, part 2, p. 143 n. 1.

7. See Beal's Life of Hiouen Thsang, pp. 166-167.

distances of Cup d². Sita then breaks in by referring to Vidarbha as the home of Indumati the mother of her father in law Dasarathi, while Trijata puts to Sita a conundrum about Narmada. Raja Sekhara was himself a poet of Maharashtra as he informs us that he was the fourth in descent from Akalajada who is styled 'Maharashtra Chudamani' in the first act of the *Baharamyana*. Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Kuntala are here referred to as if in one breath and as being below the Narmada. Alberuni (about 1000 A. D.) says marching from Dhar southwards you come to the valley of Narmada 7 farsakhs from Dhar Maharashtra 18 farsakhs the province of Konkan and its capital Tana on the sea coast 25 farsakhs²³. From this we see that even in Alberuni's day the Konkan was not included in Maharashtra which extended southwards from the Narmada. The commentator of the *Kamasutra* says that the country of Maharashtra lies between the Narmada and the Karmatic.

The foregoing discussion gives us a pretty clear idea as to the extent of Maharashtra. The Konkan was generally not included therein. In the present essay also, I shall not, as a rule go into the details of the geography of the Konkan. But from the most ancient times the ports of Konkan such as Sopara and Chaul were the scenes of the greatest maritime activity which brought the Konkan in intimate touch with foreign nations of the West. The parts above the Chauls were in close connection with the ports, towns and cities of Konkan as is evidenced by the inscriptions in the Nanughat and other places in the Konkan. The Konkan was also politically in close connection with the country above the Chauls. Northern Konkan was a portion of the kingdom of the Kshatrapas of Valabhi and also of the Satavahanas. The Chulukya Emperors Kirtivarman and Pulakesi II are said to have

²³ Benares Pandit Vol. III for 88-90, p. 209 A (10th Act) मुग्धावि भरताग्रच अयमग्र
गहाराग्रविषय राम — यत्क्षेम विद्मिवाय वरम निगमस्याय च यत्तत्तम स्वादिष्ठ च
यदैक्षवादाय रसाग्रक्षुध यद्गङ्गयम् । तदस्मिन् मधुर प्रसादिररावत् कान्त च वाव्यामृत
सोऽय गुध्र पुरो विदमविषय सारस्यतीजमभू ॥ ७४ किंच । रतविद्याविदग्धाना
विभ्रमोत्सङ्गमट । नित्य कुन्तलकान्तानां किंरो मकरध्वज ॥ ७५ साता—
जहि उष्णणा म निदाभहगुरस्य परिणी इन्दुमदी निजटा—कीटकोलकलस्य
विभ्र भवति सता मुराधम । वा च गुता शक्तिरत्नकय विन्ध्यमहीधरधाम ॥
साता—नर्मदा

in the grants of their opponents) as Rājapāl or Rāṭapāl ७१ lakh country.¹ There is a sharp conflict of views as to the meaning of this latter expression.² The Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. V, page 291, note) says that these numbers (occurring in such expressions as Rājapāl ७१ lakh, Gungavā 1196,000, Nolūmbavā 31,000, Binavāsi 12,000, Torigale 6,000, Kunli 3,000, Konkan 900, etc.) refer to their revenue capacity or to the number of their Nads (or districts). Mr. Rice thinks that the numbers denote revenue value and apparently indicated *nishka*s. Mr. Aiyangar (Ancient India, p. 78, foot-note) thinks that the numbers either indicate the revenue or income or sometimes the quantity of seed required. But Mr. Aiyangar does not tell us the purpose for which the seed was required. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the numbers refer to villages, in some cases grossly exaggerated. Mr. Vinsimhaiah (see J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 708) brings to notice a new inscription of 901 A. D. from Bandilike which speaks of the Mahasamant Laliteyasa governing 31,101 villages comprising the Binavāsi 12,000, the Pilavāsi 12,000 and Maṇyakhedi 6,000 etc. The view of Dr. Fleet seems to me to be the right one. In a grant of the Śāta prince Aparjita of Thana Konkan is expressly said to contain 1,400 villages.³ We cannot say that taxes were usually collected in money, it was rather the reverse. Besides the numbers attached to various districts remain unchanged for centuries together. It cannot be said that the revenue never fluctuated for centuries, but it is very probable that the number of villages did not vary from century to century. Moreover, there is nothing to show what the standard of value was with reference to which these numbers were given and that that standard was uniform from Dhillā (Bandell land) to southern India.⁴ Hence it is better to assume that the numbers refer to villages and hamlets. In that case Rājapāl the dominion of the Rājapāl is, would be very extensive indeed and would stand for a country very much larger than Maharashtra.

¹ See Horn C. Vol. I, p. 34, No. 2. In the *Śaṭapathy* grant of 1108 A. D., the second king of the later *Chalukya* is described as ruling over *१४५१* and the records of his *Śaṭapathy* opponent *Śaṭapathy* describe the latter as the conqueror of the ७१ lakh country. See above on *Śaṭapathy*. A *Śaṭapathy* inscription of Śaṭapathy western letter at *Amalcolat* a Ruler of a ७१ lakh country contains १२,००० villages as the *Śaṭapathy*.
J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 17.

² See J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 17 (Dr. Fleet).

³ See F. I. Vol. III, p. 267, 271. *चतुर्दशसामशतोपनिषितकौक्यात-पति*

⁴ An inscription of Harshavardhana of the Kalachurya of Dhillā of Kalyāṇ speaks of the latter *कृष्ण* *an* *ag* *oh* *an* *an* possession of the ७१ lakh Dhillā country.
See Chelton (Calcutta) Horn C. Vol. I, p. 468.

MOUNTAINS OF MAHĀRĀSHTRA

The Purāṇas contain long lists of the mountains and hills of India. The traditional number of the principal mountain ranges is seven.¹ Out of these we are concerned with the Vindhya and the Sahya. The Vindhya runs along the Narmadā and thus is on the northern border of Mahārāshtra, while the Sahya furnishes the western boundary of Mahārāshtra almost throughout. The Anugītā mentions these two mountains along with others.² The Vāyupurāṇa gives a list of subsidiary mountains,³ one of which Kṛishnagiri, the modern Kancher hill, may be mentioned here although it falls outside the limits of Mahārāshtra as defined above. The Brāhmīpurāṇa⁴ (Chap. 27) gives a long list of mountains, none of which can be definitely located in Mahārāshtra. The Bhīṣmavata-purāṇa also gives a very long list in prose (V, 19-16). It mentions a Durgāra after Sahya. It is not clear by what name the Satpura range between the Narmadā and the Tapi is referred to in the Purāṇas. It may be the Rikshī Parvatā, one of the seven principal ranges or it may have been included under the Vindhya. Mr. Nundolal Dey identifies the Vaidurya mountain with the modern Satpura range.⁵ The Rikshā

¹ Vāyupurāṇa, Chap. 45, Verse 88.

² S. B. L. Vol. VIII p. 316 (अनुगीता Chap. 28) हिमवत्, पारियात्र, सद्य विन्ध्य, विक्न्वत्, श्वेत, मील (modern Nilgiri) भास, कोडवन्, मोहन् गुरक्थ, मत्पवत् are mentioned as the principal among mountains. Is विक्न्वत् the same as that mentioned by कालिदास in रघुवंश 4. 59, or is it the same as the विरविम (Trahau in the Nasik Cave inscriptions) mount near Nasik?

³ Vāyupurāṇa Chap. 45, v. 87-92.

⁴ कोलाहल सर्वध्राजो मन्दरो दर्दराचल ।
वातन्धयो वैश्रुतध मेनाक गुरमस्तथा ॥
तुद्रप्रस्थो नागगिरिगोधन पाण्डराचल ॥
पुष्पगिरिर्वैजयन्तो रैवतोऽर्जुन एव च ।
शृङ्गमूक, रागोमन्य (न्त व ल) कृतशैल कृताचल ।
आपावतधकोरथ शतशोऽन्ये च पवता ॥ 21-24

⁵ See his geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 7. Pāṇini mentions Vaidūra विदूराज्य (IV 3. 41) from which came the valuable stone वैदूर्य पतञ्जलि's comment on this runs 'अमुवतोप निर्देशो न शसौ विदूरात्मभवति किं तर्हि बालवायाभ्यभवति विदूरे सन्निवृत्ते' Sc. Vol. II p. 13. A mountain called वैदूर्यशिखर is described as being on the नर्मदा in the list of Western tāṭhas the वनपर्व (Chap. 84, 6).

yana in several places speaks of Sahya as a very extensive range.¹ Coming to epigraphical records we have a list of mountains in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Gotimiputra. The mountains mentioned are Himavat, Meru, Mandara, Vajira, Chhavata, Parichata (Parvata modern Aravalli range including Mount Abu), Sahya, Kanhagiri, Mancha, Sirigana, Malavi, Mahida (Mahendra) Setagiri and Chak². In several Nasik inscriptions, the hill on which the Pandulena caves are excavated is called Trinhu Pavata 'Trisnu Parvata' in Sanskrit.³ In several inscriptions of Western India various donors are styled as coming from Sadagiri or Sadagiri. It may stand for the Salsette Hills.⁴ The hill on which the Kanheri Caves were excavated was called Kanhagiri or Kanhasela in the prakrit and कृष्णागिरि in Sanskrit.⁵ In the cave temples of Western India there are inscriptions mentioning several isolated hills e.g., the hill near the Bedsa caves seems to have been called Marakuda (Marakūṭa in Sanskrit) and the hill Minamo li near Junnar appears to have been designa

¹ दुद्रकाड 437 'अपश्यत् गिरिध्रेः सद्य गिरिशतायुतम्'. See also verses 73-76.

² See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. v 42 and also Bom. C. Vol. 16 p. 530 विज्ञातन् stands for विध्यक्ष्वन्—the वि- and क्ष्वन् mountains. The क्ष्वन् seems to be a portion of the विध्य near नर्मदा or the Satpura range कालिदास mentions कक्ष्वन् as a mountain near नर्मदा (ए. V. 44). The ब्रह्मपुराण (see below) makes the names तापी, पदोज्जी, निर्विन्ध्या etc. in the क्ष्वन्. That पारियात्र was in Malva seems clear from the बृहत्संहिता 'मालवा-मभरुक्चामुराशून् लपसि-धुविदयप्रमृतीथ । विकसार्जितधनोऽवति राजा पारियात्र नित्य कृतबुद्धिः ॥ मन्त्रिषो माण्ड्योऽयं यति सम्पद्वाशास्तीर्थे ।' Chap. 69 : 2. Bühler prefers the form पारियात्र. It is suggested in J. B. B. R. A. S. V. p. 5 that मर्च and मिरिन्ध (? क्षात्रन) may be Nigra. According to Bombay G. Vol. 6 p. 639 मिरिन्ध is शशिच न Telengana. What कृष्णागिरि is not clear. Dr. Bhag. nial takes to be पद्मगिरि. Is धेनगिरि or पद्मगिरि ? चकार is also mentioned as a mountain in the passage of the ब्रह्मपुराण quoted above.

³ See Bombay Gazet. Vol. 6 inscriptions Nos. 3, 5, 18, &c.

⁴ See Bhag. and Phagranal's inscriptions from cave temples of Western India p. 4 (Kunda Ins. No. 1) 'महाभोजाय सडगेरिय विजयाय एतस महाभोजम मदवस &c the same words in inscription 9 (at p. 9 b.d.) but in No. 19 we read महाभोजम राडकरस सुदमयस दुद्रुन' &c. See also J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V pp. 170-171. Modern Salsette was called पद्मगिरि, 1. de the inscription of the Konkani चक्रवर्ति अपरादि-देव of Saka 1109 (378 A. D.) where the Village Mahaval (modern Mahul) was said to be included or पद्मगिरि (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VII p. 213).

⁵ See A. S. W. I. Vol. V p. 70 (Kanheri Ins. No. 25 of the time of गोतमिपुत्र सिरियत्र मन्त्रिणः, 1. A. S. I. 13 p. 231 (Ins. of Saka 765 i.e. 813-44 A. D. of पुत्रशक्ति the महासामंत of Konkani (कृष्णागिरि)

to the *Maumukha* etc.¹ The *Madhast Jaitis* and other works in *Pala* contain some passing notices of hills in the Deccan. In the story of the two merchants of *Sura* peritru we read of a hill called *Modugara* on the seashore near *Suppara* (modern *Sopara*) on which *Punnra* dwelt for some time, whence he removed to *Madhast* which was not far from *Modugara*.² The only other hill mentioned is *Sichiradhita* on the northern watershed of the *Narmada* when going from *Sopara* to *Sowal* (*Sas* is still). *Ptolemy* mentions seven mountains in *India* proper, i.e. *India*.³ They are (1) *Apokop*, called *Parnai* *Thron* and to be the *Aravalli* hills, (2) *Mount Sardonx* (the present *Sitpudra*), (3) *Mount Oundion* (*Vindhya*), (4) *Beitig*, a peak of *Malaya*, (5) *Adasathron* to the west of which *Ptolemy* locates both *Bathura* (*Paithan*) and *Ligria*, (6) *Ouxation* the eastern continuation of the *Vindhya*, which *McCrindle* identifies with *Rajshwaria*, (7) *Ormodion* mountains (which *Yuk* identifies with *Vudhrya*) the northern section of the *Western Ghats*. *Kalidasa* when describing the conquering expeditions of *Pugha* refers to a hill *Trikotja* in *Apr* (iii) (*Righu* 4. 59). It is not possible to identify this hill. Dr. *Bhagv* would thought that *Trikotja* refers to certain hills near *Junnar* (*B. C.*, Vol. I, p. 1, p. 57). To take *Trikotja* is the name of a city (as done in *B. C.* Vol. I, p. 2, page 13, note 5) in this passage does not seem to be correct.

As to mountain passes very little information is available. But there can be no doubt that some of the present passes in the *Western Ghats* must have been also in use from ancient times. As we are told in the accounts of Greek writers that *Viragata* (*Brouth*) *Scuppara* (*K. Penta*) (*Kalyan*) and *Sanylla* (*Chaul*) on the *Western Coast* were emporia of trade to which merchandise from the whole of *India* was brought for being carried to the marts of the *West* and as we have stories of merchants proceeding from *Sopara* on the *Konkan Coast* to *Sravasti* the passes that connect these coast towns with the cities above the *Ghats* must have been much used routes even before the *Christian era*. Merchandise must have flowed to *Sopara* through the *Thal* pass and must have connected it with *Nasik* and the *Malsej* and *Nana* pass would have brought it in close communication with *Junnar* and *Paithan*. Inscriptions and cave remains at *Kandari*, *Jamrug* and *Amthah* in the *Phani District* and at *Kark*, *Bhaya* and *Budsa* in the *Thoon District* establish that the *Bar* pass was much

¹ See *Bhagv* and *Bagg*, a list of cave inscriptions of *Western India* p. 26 (I. vol. No. 1) and p. 27 (II. vol. No. 2) and p. 40 (*Junnar* No. 1).

² See *Hardys Map of India* (2nd Ed.) p. 20 and *J. Foulke's Art. 100* I. A. Vol. 6 p. 44.

³ See *McCris* *Mon. Ep.* pp. 2, 3.

resorted to for purposes of trade between 100 and 600 A.D. This holds good of the Kumbharli pass connecting Chiplun and Dabhol with the ancient district of Karmataka (modern Karad)

THE RIVERS OF MAHARASHTRA

In the Mahabharata we have perhaps the most copious list of the rivers of India.¹ But it is of doubtful authenticity. The Vayu and Matsya Puranas agree remarkably in the list of rivers enumerated by them.² The Brahmapurana had a similar but slightly different list before it. The Padma Purana (Chap. 6) enumerates the rivers of India in a confused way without specifying the mountains from which they rise. And so does the Bhagavata Purana in prose (V. 19-18). In an inscription of Ushavadata son-in-law of the Kshatriya Nahapanta, (Nasik No. 10 and I. A. 12 p. 27 and J. B. E. R. V. 5, Vol. V. p. 49) we come across the rivers Barnasa, Bha, Paridra, Damana, Tapi, Karibena and Dahamuka, out of which the Tapi alone falls within the limits of Maharashtra as defined above. In the Gharatna mahodadhi of Vardhamana we meet with more than a dozen rivers ending in the district but unfortunately none of them can be unmistakably identified.³

We shall now take up the larger rivers of Maharashtra from the Narmada southwards and then enumerate some of the lesser ones. The epigraphic records mention many small and insignificant streams which I shall pass over.

Narmada—The earliest reference seems to be in the Satapatha Brahmana⁴ where we read of a priest called Revottara Pativa Chalra Sthipati. Rev is another name for Narmada.⁵ We know

¹ भीष्मपर्व Chap. 9. 14-6. The सभापर्व has a similar list (Chap. 9. 18-21).

² वायुपुराण Chap. 45 vv. 202-04. तापी पयोष्णी निर्बया महा च निपथा नदी । वेवा (५६ वेवा) वैतरणी चैव शिनिवाहु कुमुदती ॥ तोवा चैव महागर्गा दुर्गा चानशिला तथा । विष्णुपादप्रसूता नद्य पुण्यजला शुभा ॥ गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णा वैष्णव वज्रकुला । तद्भद्रा मययोगा कावेरी च तथापगा ॥ दक्षिणायननयन्तु सप्तपदादिनिमृता ॥ See मत्स्यपुराण Chap. 114 vv. 27-29.

दक्षपुराण Chap. 20 vv. 11-3. नर्मदा सुमायाश्चनयोर्विष्णोर्विनिमृता । तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या कावेरीप्रमुखा नदी । कश्चपादोद्भवा वेता श्रुता ताप हराति या । गोदावरी भीमरथा कृष्णवैष्णवदिकारतथा । सप्तपदादौद्भवा नद्य &c. See also Chap. 27.

³ See गणरत्नमहोदधि (Beggelings) p. 172.

J. B. E. R. Vol. 41 p. 2-6 269-72.

⁴ But it is strange that the भागवतपुराण V. 418 mentions the Rev and Narmada separately.

from Buddhist stories that Nāga kings on the Narmada requested Buddha to leave his footprint, which is said to be still visible in the Yon country, and that from the river Buddha went to the rock Sāchabūdhā.¹ In the Vinayapitaka the Narmada is mentioned (Chap. 85-9). Ptolemy refers to the sources of the Narmados in the Quidion range.² In the Brahma Purana the Narmada is said to spring from Vindhya while the Matsya Purana makes it rise from the Parjyatra. The latter Purana contains a Mahatmya of the river (Chap. 180 ff). In the Meghadūta Kalidasa says that the River comes into view from the Āmra Kūta hill and that it is to be seen straggling down the slopes of the Vindhya.³ In the Saptasati of Hala the author speaks of the River as possessing qualities that transcend those of other rivers.⁴ The Brihatsambhūta mentions the Narmada as under the influence of Mars.⁵ The Amarakosha mentions several synonyms of Ravi or Narmadā. Hsuen Tsing tells us that after crossing the Naimoto (Narmadā) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukiechepo (Bharukachakra i.e., Broach).⁶

Tāpi—In the Mahābhārata the river Tapi seems to have been called Payoshni. In the list of Tirthas in the South the highest praise is bestowed on the Payoshni and it is spoken of as the river of King Naga.⁷ But the Puranas clearly distinguish between the three rivers Tāpi, Payoshni and Nirvindhya. These three are said to spring from mountain Kiksha according to the Bṛahma Purana while the Matsya and Vāyu make them rise in the Vindhya. Ptolemy mentions the sources of a river Narmagouna as being in the Quidion range.⁸ McCrindle (p. 128) identifies the Tapi with the Narmagouna. The Tapi is included in the list of rivers enumerated in the

¹ See Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (2nd Ed.) p. 265. I. A. Vol. 16 pp. 1-2.

² McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 102.

³ मेघदूत Verse 10 'देवा इन्द्रस्युपलब्धिमे विप्रपदे विशीर्णाम् ॥

⁴ आम बहला वनाला मुहला जलरक्षुणो जल सितिरम् । अण्णर्ण वि देवाद तह वि अण्णे गुणा केवि ॥ माधामवशानी ११-९

⁵ Kern's *Bṛhatsambhūta* Chap. 69.

⁶ Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II p. 257.

⁷ नन्दपर्व ३३ 'राजर्षेयस्य च सरिन्मृगस्य मन्तवम् । रम्यतार्था बहुजला पयो र्वा द्विजसेविता ॥ ४ अपि चान् महायोगी मार्कण्डेयो महायदा । अनुवदया जगौ गाथा नृगस्य धरणीधरो ॥ ५ एवम मरित सवा गद्गादा मल्लोद्यय । पयोणी चैवत पुण्या तीर्थेभ्यो हि मता मग ॥ ७

⁸ McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 63.

description of Ushavadata (see above p. 637). The Gathasaptasatī peaks of the hilly banks of the Tapi (III, 39). The Brihatsamhita peaks of the sweet waters of the Tapi¹. The Pavoshni is a feeder of the Tapi which after running underground for some distance falls into the Tapi at the town of Prakasa, 25 miles north west of Dhulia in the Akhandesh district². Nundorli Dey identifies the Nirvindhya with the Nanganga. But this does not seem to be correct. In the Meghadūta the poet tells us that the river Nirvindhya was to be met with on the road from Vidisa (Bhilsa) to Ujjayini³.

Godavari—This river surpasses in sanctity the Krishna and may be styled the most sacred river of Maharashtra. We have quoted several passages about the sacred land of the seven Godavaris. The river Godavari is mentioned in the Sutrāṃpiṭa as running through the country of Assaka (Amraha)⁴. In the list of sacred places in the South we find that the Godavari is mentioned first as a holy river (Vanaparva Chap. 89.2). In the Rāmāyana we have frequent poetic descriptions of the scenery on the banks⁵ of the Godavari. The Brahmapurāṇa devotes about a hundred Chapters (70-175) to the Godavari and the sacred places on it. In one place we are told that the banks of the Godavari are the most charming country in the world⁶. The Matsyapurāṇa also says the same. The Saptasatī of Hala refers to the river Gola at least a dozen times and is very enthusiastic in its praise. The Brihatsamhita⁷ says that the Godavari

¹ वै च पिबन्ति सुतोषा तार्षी धे चापि गामनामलिखम् ॥ इदस्सहिता 6.2

² Bom. G. Vol. VII p. 406 note. But in the महाभारत seems that the पयोष्णी is तार्षी itself as the adject. समुद्रगा in the passage quoted above clearly indicates.

³ मेघदूत Verse 29. 'निर्विन्ध्याया पाथ भव रसाभ्यान्तर मन्निपत्य'

⁴ Faubold's edition Verse 97 and S. B. E. Vol. X part 2 p. 84.

⁵ See अरण्यकाण्ड Chapters 25-6 etc.

⁶ ब्रह्मपुराण Chap. 27 Verses 41-44 'महास्य चोत्तरे यस्तु यत्र गोदावरी नदी । शुद्धिव्यामपि कृत्वाया स प्रदशा मनोरम ॥ गवधनपुर रम्य भार्गवस्य महामन ।'
See the same verses in माण्डूक्य 32.31-35 and वातु 45. 22-3 (Sughi varanabon).

⁷ मत्स्यपुराण 14. 5-39 'महास्यानतरे चैत तत्र गोदावरी नदा । शुद्धिव्यामपि कृत्वाया स प्रदेशो मनोरम ॥ यत्र गवधनो नाम मन्दरो गवधमन । रामप्रियार्थ स्वर्गिया कृष्ण दिव्यास्तथोपमा ॥ भद्राक्षेन मुनिना प्रियार्थमवतारिता । ततो पुण्वरो देवाक्षेन चक्षु मनागम ॥

is under the influence of Mars¹. In the Buddhist story of Bavari, who was the former Purohita of Mahakosala and then of Pasenadi, we are told that a residence was built for Bavari on the Godavari when he wanted to become a recluse. Alberuni speaks of Mandagiri on the banks of the Godavari, 60 farsakh (from Alispur it seems)². An inscription of the Yadava king, Ramachandra dated Śaka 1193 (1271-72 A. D.) records a grant of the village of Vadathuri on the northern bank of the Godavari and calls it the ornament of Seunadesa³. It seems that the territory watered by the Godavari was named सप्तगोदावर⁴.

Krishna—The Vishnusmṛiti mentions a Tīrthi, the Southern Panchanada, by which the commentator Nandapanita understands the five rivers Krishna, Vepi, Tunga, Bhadra and Kona⁵. The Mahabharata speaks of the Krishnaveni⁶.

¹ Hardy's *Manu* ed. of B. d. d. sm. p. 126.

² Alberuni Sacha. Vol. I p. 205.

³ I. A. Vol. 14 pp. 114-115.

⁴ 'सत्याया नदागोदावरीभ्या च' on अन्धम्यन्ववपुवात्मामलोम' पा V 4-75, commented upon by कीर्तिशिरा. According to the Kāśī (Benares) the name of the country referred to by the text is सप्तगोदावर. It is to be noted that the कयासरित्सागर (III 5-9) refers to the elephants of उदयन, as having drunk the waters of the river Godavari after he crossed the वावेरी and the मुरला 'यत्तस्य सप्तथा भिन्नपुण्यगोदावरीषय । मगज्जास्तमद्व्याग्रागमपथैवा मुचक्षिन्व ॥' The Mahabharata while dwelling upon the merit to be secured by bathing at various sacred places, comes to सप्तगोदावर after कृष्णदेविका 'सप्तगोदावरे स्नान्त्वा नियतो नियताशन । मदापुष्पमवाप्नोति देवताम न गच्छति ॥' (वनपर्व Chap. 85 44). In the वायुपुराण (77) सप्तगोदावर is mentioned as a तीर्थ 'सप्तगोदावरे चैव गोकर्णे च तपोवन । अश्वमेधफलं तत्र स्नान्त्वा न लभते नर ॥' It is in the बालरामायण of राजशेखर (Vol. III of Benares I and II for 1907) we are told in the 10th Act that the अश्वि dwell in the seven गोदावरी, then there is वावेरी, and the country of मधारा is described सुप्रसव—(दक्षिणो दरीयन्) देव सप्तगोदावरीगारे भीमो भगवन्मर्ग । राम—अथाभास्तव दक्षिणेन स रम गोदावरीनगां सप्तानामपि वार्तिविषयानि । श्रीशत्रुघ्नि विना ॥ १. 10. 70.

⁵ S. B. E. Vol. 6 p. 272.

⁶ सभाष्ये 9. 201. भीष्मपर्वे 7-8.

The *Vaṣupurāṇa* and *Bhagavata* mention the rivers *Kṛṣṇa* and *Vena* separately while the *Brahma* and the *Matsya* combine them into one i.e. *Kṛṣṇavena*.¹ The *Vena* and *Kṛṣṇa* are mentioned in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.² A grant of the Śilahara chief in Marasimha of c. 950 (1038-50 A. D.) speaks of the *Kṛṣṇavena* in the *Mirinja* *deśa* (modern Miraj).³ The village of *Kaṇṇadimavāṭa* (Kurundwad in the S. M. country) on the confluence of the *Kṛṣṇavena* and *Bharmarathi* was granted by the Yadava Emperor *Singhana* in Śaka 1135 (1214-15 A. D.).⁴ The *Vikramānka* *devarcharita* calls it *Kṛṣṇavena* or *Kṛṣṇaravēṇī*.⁵

Among the lesser rivers the *Vena* deserves the first place. Pargiter takes the *Kṛṣṇavena* mentioned in the *Vanaparva* (Chap. 83, 37) to be a tributary of the *Vena* (which he identifies with the *Wanganga*) north of *Nagpur*.⁶ The *Bṛhatsamhitā* several times mentions the *Vena* or its banks and it gives us the interesting information that *Vajra* diamonds were found on the banks of the *Vena*.⁷ The *Brahma* *purāṇa* speaks (in Chap. 77, 5) of the confluence of the *Kṛṣṇa*, *Bhīmarathi* and *Tungabhadra* as a very holy place conferring *mukta* on mortals.⁸ The river *Bhīmarathi* appears to be the *Bhīma* that falls into the *Kṛṣṇa*.⁹ The *Bṛhatsamhitā* calls it *Bhīmarathi*.¹ A village called *Alanditirtha* on the southern bank of the *Bhīmarathi* was granted by the grandson of *Satyashraya* (*Pulikēśa* II) (see J. B. R. A. S., Vol. II, pages 1-11 and I. A. Vol. 19, pp. 303-304). The *Kaśikavṛttis* (on *Pāṇini* IV. 2. 83) mentions a river

¹ *महा* Chap. 20, 13 and *मत्स्य* 114, 21. At *महा* 27, 15 we have *कृष्णवेण्या*. The *भगवत* (V. 10) reads *कृष्णवेण्वा*.

² *Wilson* V. P. p. 184. The waters of the *कृष्णा* are described to be always salubrious in the *विष्णुसु*.

³ *Burgess and Bhagani* *Cañcā* temple, p. 104.

⁴ See J. B. R. A. S., Vol. 11, p.

⁵ See IV. 4. 11, 13 and 71.

⁶ J. B. R. A. S. 1904, pp. 23, 240.

⁷ *बृहत्संहिता* Chap. 4, 26, 6, 9. *हो* ७. 'वेण्वाते विद्युद शिराधकुमुदोपम च कोमलकम्' ॥

⁸ *कृष्णा भीमरथी चैव दुर्लभद्रो तु नाद । विमृणा सहस्रो यत्र तर्त्ताथ मुक्तिर दृष्टाम् ॥*

⁹ See *महापुराण* Chap. 20, 13 and 27, 15. *विष्णु* 45, 104. *मत्स्य* 1, 4, 20.

¹⁰ Chap. 25, 1.

Bhimarathi The river Bhimarathi and Paunharikapura (Pandharpur) on it are mentioned in a grant of Krishnayaadava dated Śaka 1170 (1249-50 A. D. in this case).¹ A grant of the Rashtrakuta Govinda III, dated Śaka 730 (808-09 A. D.) speaks of the village granted, viz., Rittajjuna having as its eastern boundary the river Simhā.² This is the river Sima a tributary of the Bhima. The river Malaprabha (modern Malaprabha) that falls into the Krishna is mentioned in a Yadava inscription of Śaka 1145 (1223-24 A. D.).³

The river Varada (modern Wardha in Berar) is said in the *Madhyakagumitri* to have been fixed as the boundary between the kingdoms of Yajñaisena and Madhvasena by Agnimitra, the second Sunga sovereign. The *Nalachimpā* speaks of a country called Varadatatā. The river Vainanga in the Central Provinces appears to have been referred to as Benna or Vena. In the Seoni copperplate of the Valabhi Pravarisena II, we have a grant of the village of Brithmaparaka in Benna Karpatabhāga. This district appears to have derived its name from the river Benna which from the situation of the village granted and the place where the plate was found seems to be the *Vainanga*. In the list of Tirthas in the *Vanaparva* the pilgrims' course is made to run along the Godwari to its junction with the Vena and then northwards to the junction of the Varada with the Venā.⁴

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

In the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. we are told that there were three Maharashtras.⁵ What these three main divisions of Maharashtra were the inscription does not tell us. But it seems that Vidarbha, Maharashtra proper (i.e. the country from Khândesh to Satara) and Kuntala were the three countries intended to be designated as the three Maharashtras. This surmise derives support from the fact that the limits of Maharashtra as discussed above extended from the Narmada to the Krishna. The fact that the *Balarām Jāna* of *Rajasekhara* groups the countries together lends further support to this surmise.⁶ I have referred above to the notices of Vidarbha in the ancient Vedic literature. Vidarbha was a very powerful and prominent kingdom from ancient

¹ I. A. Vol. 14 p. 74.

² See I. A. Vol. VI p. 68.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 12 p. 24.

⁴ See *वनपर्व* 85. 31-35.

⁵ See I. A. Vol. VIII page 241.

⁶ See above p. 640.

tures¹ The poets of Vidarbha surpassed those of any other part of India, and their style came to be called Vaidarbhi even so early as the 6th Century A.D.² We hear the echo of a war between the Magadha Emperors and Vidarbha in the *Malavikāgnimitra* of Kalidāsa. Agnimitra, the son of Pushyimitra, the first king of the Śunga dynasty, reigned at Vidisa in the second and third quarters of the second Century B.C. He proposed marriage with Malvika, whose brother Madhavasena had a quarrel with his cousin Yajnasena king of Vidarbha. When Madhavasena was on his way to Vidisa in Malva, Yajnasena's general imprisoned him but his councillor Sumati and sister Malvika escaped. Agnimitra demanded the release of Madhavasena but Yajnasena agreed to do so only on condition that his wife's brother, (styled Mauryasachara in the drama) kept in imprisonment by Agnimitra, be released. Agnimitra vanquished Yajnasena and Vidarbha was divided between Madhavasena and Yajnasena.

¹ The महाभारत mentions the विदर्भ among fighters in the great war (occurs in the list of countries in the भीमपर्व (9.64). In the दान्तिपर्व (37.3) we are told that विदर्भ was a very religious nation 'राष्ट्रे धर्मोत्तरे श्रेष्ठे विदर्भश्च भवद् द्विज ।' In the मत्स्यपुराण Chap. 41 we learn that King Jyāmagha had a wife Chātrā from whom was born विदर्भ, whose sons were क्रथ, कैशिक and लोमपाद (v. 46). कैशिक had a son चेदि from whom the चैद्य kings took their name (v. 37). In the मागवतपुराण (9.24) we read that विदर्भ had three sons कुश, क्रथ and लोमपाद, the 5th in descent from the latter being चेदि. In the विष्णुपुराण (V. 1. 50 Vol. 4 p. 67 ff.) we are told that विदर्भ had three sons क्रथ, कैशिक and लोमपाद. क्रथ was the ancestor of the भोज, कैशिक was the father of चेदि, the progenitor of the चैद्य kings. In the हरिवंश (Langkoi Vol. I p. 165) विदर्भ is similarly made father of क्रथ, कैशिक and लोमपाद, but it makes चेदि the son of a second कैशिक, great grandson of लोमपाद. In the Vedābhyaśataka (Cowell's Jātakas, Vol. I p. 181) a charm called Vedābhyaśa is said to have been known to a ब्राह्मण whose pupil the वेधिसत्व was. Both are said to have come to the country of Chetis (चेदि ?) and met with two robbers. Kalidāsa uses the word क्रथकैशिक (खुबश 5. 39. 61 and 7. 20) for the people of विदर्भ. From Kalidāsa's descent on it appears that the नमदा had to be crossed while going from उत्तरकोसल to the capital of विदर्भ (which was कुण्डिन according to खु 7. 33).

² काल्यदर्श I. 40. अस्थवेतो गिरा मार्गं शुद्धभेद परस्परम् । तत्र विदर्भगीरायो वप्येन प्ररुणन्तरो ॥

the Varada (modern Vardha river) being the boundary between the two kingdoms. The *Draśakumaracharita* (VIII Uchhhvaya) mentions six feudatory kingdoms of Vidarbha viz., Ashvika, Kuntala, Murah, Richika, Konkana and Sisikya (Is it Nasik?). The Bhajas ruled in Vidarbha (*Raghuvamśa* V, 39-40 and *Draśakumaracharita* VIII). Even the *Mahabharata* tells us that Bhishma's king of the Bhujas in Bhojikata and called Lord of Dakshinaty is submitted to Jarasandha.¹ The Bharhut Stupa has an inscription commemorating a donation from a nun of Bhojikataka.² The Bhojikata kingdom is mentioned in the Chumuk copper plate of the Vikata Maharaja Pravarasena II.³ Thus we see that from very ancient times Vidarbha (modern Berar and the country beyond it) on almost all

form part of Maharashtra.

The country of Kuntala was also well known from very ancient times. Its exact boundaries are a matter of great difficulty. Dr Burgess says that "Kuntala stretched from the Narbada in the north to somewhere about Tungabhadra (or further) in the south, having the Arabian Sea for its border on the west and reaching the Godavari and the Eastern Ghats on the north-east and south-east. But these boundaries are much too exaggerated as they would make Kuntala embrace the whole of the peninsula except the southernmost part of it and would leave no room for Maharashtra or would make

¹ See समापर्व 14 & 22. "चतुर्थवान्महाराजो भोज इन्द्रसखो बली । विद्या
बलाद्यो व्यजयन् सपाण्ड्यक्रमरशिकान् । आता यस्याहृति शूरा जामदग्न्यसोऽभवत् ।
स भक्तो मागध राजा भाम्भक परवीरहा ।" समापर्व (Chap. 3-63) shows us how सहदेव
came in his career of conquest to भाम्भक king of भोजकट.

² Bharhut Stupa (Cannanahall) p. 123.

³ V. V. Smith identifies भोजकट with the place of Ga. had near Lichpur J. R. A. S. 1914 p. 330.

⁴ Cor. I Vol. III p. 235.

The modern name Vardha seems to connect itself with the data. In the Nala champu of त्रिविक्रमभट्ट we read "वीरपुरुष वरदात्तदातनामक महाराष्ट्रम् । दक्षिण
मरुस्वती सा वदति विदर्भा नदी यत्र ॥" 666. It is possible that the word महाराष्ट्र
used here as the name of a country and then the position etc. would be that that part of
महाराष्ट्र called वरदात्त was a land of heroes.

⁵ A. S. W. J. Vol. III p. 73.

the latter its sub-division. But we have seen that Maharashtra was a separate country from at least the 5th Century A. D., and that Badāmi was its capital in the 7th Century. In my opinion, Kuntala may be roughly described as the country from the Bhima and Krishna to some distance beyond the Tungabhadra and included Kolhapur and the other Southern Mahratta States such as Miraj, Belgaum and Dhurwar districts, a portion of the Nizam's dominions and of the Mysore State and North Canara. It will be seen from the quotations given below that the modern districts of Belgaum and Dhurwar were the heart of Kuntala. Mr Rice defines Kuntala as the country between the Bhima and the Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats and including the Shimoga and Chitaldurg districts of Mysore, Bellary, Dhurwar and Bijapur and certain tracts in the Nizam's dominions.¹ According to Dr Fleet Kuntala included Banavasi in North Canara, Belgaum and Harihar in Mysore, Hampi or Vijayanagar in the Bellary district, to the north of these places Hangal, Lakshmeshwar, Lakkundi, Gadag in Dhurwar, further to the north Belgaum, Saundatti, Manoli, Konnur in the Belgaum district, Pattadakal, and Aihole in Bijapur and still more to the North Teradaia in the Sangli State. Bijapur itself and Kalyani (see Bom G., Vol. I, part 2, p. 431). When the Vakatakas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Yadavas were at the height of their power, Kuntala formed part of their dominions and so came under Maharashtra.²

¹ See Mysore and Coorg I on the inscriptions, p. 3 (1903) quoted in J. R. A. S. (1911) p. 330.

² In the महाभारत, कुन्तला are referred to. मरुत्सुख १७७. One of the inscriptions at Ajanta recites that the वाकाटक king पृथिवीपति, son of रुद्रसेन, conquered कुन्तल and that another वाकाटक king हरिषेण conquered कुन्तल, अवन्ति, कलिङ्ग, कौसल, त्रिकूट, छट्ठ and अजमे (Surgeons and Bhagwanlal's cave temples p. 70 J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII p. 57; A. S. W. L. IV, p. 124 J. R. A. S. 94 pp. 324, 327). The वामनसूत्र of वात्स्यायन (Chap. 3, p. 131) refers to a कुन्तलशातकर्ण 'कतथा कुन्तल शातकर्णं शानवाहनो महादेवी मलयवती (जपान)'. We have seen above that according to the दशकुमारचरित कुन्तल was under the kings of विदर्भ. The Newar inscription of the चालुक्यविक्रमादित्य or त्रिभुवनमहल dated Saka 1000 (A. D. 1277) informs us that through कुन्तल the flowed कृष्णवेणी 'विश्वानकृष्णवेणी नैऋतेक्षेत्रे स्थितस्त्व । कुन्तलविषयो नितरा विराजते महिमा मोद ॥' मयूरवर्म mentioned as the best of the कर्दम kings of Banavasi said to have brought 8 मणि from Vinahatitra and established them in कुन्तल, which

As for the part of the country excluding Vidarbha and Kuntala as defined above we are confronted by several names. It seems that a portion of modern Khandesh, Nasik, Ahmednagar and part of Burar and the Nizams dominions went by the name of Asmaka in very ancient times. In the Suttanipita the country of Assaka (Asmaka) is placed on the banks of the Godavari.¹ The Dighanikaya speaks of the earth being divided into 7 territories, one of which was Asvaka with its capital Potana² (is it Pathan?). One of the Vasik inscriptions of Gotamiputra in the list of countries conquered by that king separately mentions Asaka (Asmaka). Anupa (Capital Mahishmati) on the Narmada see Raghuvamisa 6, 17 and 43) and Vidarbha (Vidarbha).³ In the Chullikalingyatra (Conell Vol III, p. 1 No. 301) a king Asvaka of Potana in the Assaka country is referred to.⁴ In the Ajanta caves there is an inscription which reads for the spiritual benefit of Bhavuraya the minister of the very glorious Asmaka araya,⁵ also for the good of his mother and father did Buddhishandra cause this Sugata's abode to be constructed.⁶ In the Dashakumarcharita the

and ded Panaya (I. A. V. I. X pp. 230 and 231). In a inscription of Chakravartin (1123-24 A.D.) we read 'The place where Bharata araha appears is situated opposite the great country of Kuntala' and that land is 'the great district called Kupa and in the heart of this district the Tendravatashahar etc.' (I. A. Vol. 14 p. 2). Teri in a letter in the Madras State. An inscription dated Sakas 100 (14-48 A.D.) mentions Naragunda (the modern Navalgund Taluk of Dharwar district) one of the 18 Agral areas in the district of Belgaon in Kuntal. An inscription dated Sakas 101 (4-48 A.D.) in the

case) refers to 'Targraja situated near the river Samprahari' and as a district of Kuntal (I. A. Vol. XII p. 98). The Yashwantrao Chavan of Habsli in Mysore would have to fight with the Deogar Vidara Jyotirmatha at Lakkagad (now Lakkund in Dharwar district) to have defeated him and to have secured Kuntal (I. A. Vol. II p. 39). The inscription dated 114 Sakas (100-103 A.D.) A Kanta inscription of Sakas 113 (100-103 A.D.) speaks of the district of Kuntal as part of Kuntal UBBT A. S. V. I. X p. 271) and places Gandava (modern Gandava) in the district of the plain of the Godavari (p. 28). A grant of the Yadava Kanhara dated Sakas 111 (100-103 A.D.) mentions Hovra (modern Hubli) as part of the district of Kuntal. Why the country was called Kuntal can only be left to experts to explain. The war was fought in the country were found of experts in wielding the Kuntal (iron) or perhaps the men of that country were fond of long hair.

¹ See Fauche's Edition, Vol. 1, 100 and S. B. I. Vol. 14 part p. 89. Also Hardy's Manual p. 316.

² See J. P. A. S. (1901) p. 65, whence the rest comes taken.

³ J. P. B. R. V. I. Vol. 1, p. 34 et seq. In the I. A. Vol. 14 p. 2.

⁴ In the I. A. Vol. 14 p. 2.

⁵ J. P. B. R. A. S. Vol. VII No. 22 pp. 61 (2 and 10) and 106 (10) and 107 (10) and 108 (10) and 109 (10) and 110 (10) and 111 (10) and 112 (10) and 113 (10) and 114 (10) and 115 (10) and 116 (10) and 117 (10) and 118 (10) and 119 (10) and 120 (10) and 121 (10) and 122 (10) and 123 (10) and 124 (10) and 125 (10) and 126 (10) and 127 (10) and 128 (10) and 129 (10) and 130 (10) and 131 (10) and 132 (10) and 133 (10) and 134 (10) and 135 (10) and 136 (10) and 137 (10) and 138 (10) and 139 (10) and 140 (10) and 141 (10) and 142 (10) and 143 (10) and 144 (10) and 145 (10) and 146 (10) and 147 (10) and 148 (10) and 149 (10) and 150 (10) and 151 (10) and 152 (10) and 153 (10) and 154 (10) and 155 (10) and 156 (10) and 157 (10) and 158 (10) and 159 (10) and 160 (10) and 161 (10) and 162 (10) and 163 (10) and 164 (10) and 165 (10) and 166 (10) and 167 (10) and 168 (10) and 169 (10) and 170 (10) and 171 (10) and 172 (10) and 173 (10) and 174 (10) and 175 (10) and 176 (10) and 177 (10) and 178 (10) and 179 (10) and 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Asmaka chief is son of is a neighbour of Vidarbha and is fighting with the King of the latter on the Narmada¹. From Bhamah's work on rhetoric we learn that a poem called Asmakavamsa was claimed to have been composed in the Vaidarbha style². In the Brihatsamhita, Asmaka is mentioned several times, sometimes along with Tripura or Vidarbha³. From all these data, we come to the conclusion that from the centuries preceding the Christian era up to the 6th century A.D. at all events the country from Khandesh up to the Godavari was called Asmaka probably had Paithan as its capital and included Ajanta in it⁴. We shall see later on that the Andhrabhrityas or Satavhanas, whose capital was originally at Dharmapala (Dharmakotta or Amravati on the Krishna) found it necessary to have a capital at Paithan in the west in order to be better able to stem the rising tide of Kshatrapa aggression.

The same country or at least a large portion of it came to be called Seunadesa in later times under the Yadavas. A Yadava chief named Seunachandra son of Dhillaprabhara and grandson of Subahu is said to have given his name to this country and founded the city of Seunapura in Sindinera⁵ (modern Sinnar in the Nashik district) in a grant, dated Śaka 991 (1069-70 A.D.). An inscription of the Yadava Rma

‘सर्पथा नयज्ञस्य वसन्तभानोरम्भकेन्द्रस्य हस्ते राज्यमिदं (विदर्भ-
राज्यम्) पतितम् ।’ and then ‘अथ वसन्तभानुर्भानुवर्माण नाम वान-
रास्यं प्रोत्साहानन्तवर्मणा व्यग्राहयत् । . . सर्पसामन्तेभ्यश्चादम्भकेन्द्रं प्रागु-
पेयास्यं प्रियतरोऽभूत् । अपरोऽपि सामन्ता समगसत् । गत्वा चाम्यर्णे
गर्मदारोयसि न्यविशन् । तस्मिन्वायसरे महासामन्तस्य कुन्तलपतेरवन्ति-
देनस्य . . अदम्भकेन्द्रस्तु कुन्तलपतिमेकान्ते समभ्यवत् । . . तदाया
मभूय मुरलेश वीरसेनमृचाकेशमेकवीर कौकणपति कुमारगुप्त ससि-
क्यनाथ च नागपालमुपजपात् ।’

‘ननु चादम्भकनशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते । काम त्वास्तु प्रायेण
सङ्गच्छातो विधीयते ॥’ भागह 1: 31

¹ Chap. 17 (विपुल) १११ (विदर्भ)

Dr. Bhagwanlaluler ed. of A. S. B. S. h. Khamosh. ed. of A. S. B. S. p. 181.

² A. S. B. S. p. 17. S. d. case not be the same as Sind' and it be the capital
in the Kala h. d. h. g. on of 117 and 118 d. d. Śaka 98 (1025 A. D. in the case) see A. S. B. S. p. 17 & 18.

chandra dated Saka 1193 (1771-72 A. D.) records a grant of the village of Vadasthana on the northern bank of the Godavari and calls it the monument of Seunadesa.³ In the Vratakhanda of Hemadri, we are told that Deogiri was situated in Seunadesa and that the latter was on the confines of Dilakranya.⁴ The Prataparudra Vasobhūshana speaks of the Yadava kings of Seunadesa.⁵ The Kakatiya king Prataparudra (1295-1313 A. D.) is said to have vanquished the Yadava king of Sevala, that had crossed the Gautami river (Godavari). From this it appears that Seunadesha extended from the Godavari northwards to Degiri (modern Daulatabad).⁶

Before proceeding further, it is better to say a few words on the terms used to denote the divisions and sub-divisions of a country in our authorities. The commonest or most usual term for a country is *Desa* as in *Seunadesa*. Another generic term for a country met with in the Puranas and other Sanskrit works (like the *Dakṣa-kumara-charita*) is *Janapada*.⁷ The *Amirakosa* gives *Desa*, *Janapada* and *Vishaya* as synonyms.⁸ It must be said at the outset that

³ I. A. Vol. 14 pp. 315. Between Seunachandra and Bhūlana III, see king intervened.

⁴ Hon. G. V. I. part pp. 211 and 512. At page 211 it is suggested that the name मेउणदेश is preserved in the modern Khandesh between which it is said there is a close resemblance. One fails to see how मेउण came to be converted into खाने. Is it possible that Khandesh was so named after the king Kanha Vādavāhana (See Bank Inscription No. 22) or better still after Kanhara Yada of Deogiri (see J. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX p. 246 for a grant of his). It may be that the country came to be so called on account of its dark soil (कुण्डदेश changed into कण्डदेश from which Khandesh is an easy corruption).

⁵ “रे रे सेवण कस्तनायमनिदधूर्नेय गयो महानुत्तीर्णा किं येन गौतमनदी प्राप्तोसि मृत्योर्मुखम् । एषा काकतिवीररद्र इति किं नाश्रापि सप्ताक्षरी प्रक्षुभ्यप्रतिपक्षपार्थिवमहाभूतप्रहोच्चान्नी”॥ रसप्रकरण p. 146 of the Balamanojaya series. ‘राज्ञो यादववशपार्थिवमणे प्रहयातशौर्यश्रियस्त्वद्गतुद्गतुर्द्गमेन्यमहतो मानैकचित्तस्य च । सद्यो रुद्रनेन्द्रनायकचमूनायेन केनाप्यधिक्षिप्तस्याचरितानि सेवणपतेर्जानाति सा गौतमी ॥’ अष्टाङ्कारप्रकरण p. 16. In another place we have ‘प्राप्तवणा सेवणा’

p. 133

⁶ *Seunadesa* has 113 settlements A. D. 1193 p. 59

⁷ See e.g. वायुपुराण, Ch. 45. 09 म. 25. 141. वसुपुराण 27. 34

⁸ गणपतिपदी दशविंशती नृपवचनम्

ancient usage is not uniform in the employment of terms denoting a country and its sub-divisions. I shall try to give what appears to be the general usage about each term and note the exceptions if any. In doing so I shall illustrate my remarks by naming most of the known sub-divisions of Maharashtra.

In epigraphic records we often come across the words 'Rashtrapati' (ruler of a province), 'Vishtrapati' (lord of a district) and 'Gramahūji' (head of a village).¹ From the order in which the terms occur it is clear that Rashtra is a division larger than Vishtra.² In the inscriptions of Southern India we meet with the terms Manjūlam, Valu and Ur (township) which correspond to Rashtra, Vishtra and Grama. The word Manjūla is often employed in the same sense as Des or Rashtra, e.g., in Mahashimungurā (for which, see above p. 62). But the Sahyadrikhandā that hangs loosely on to the Skandapurāṇa says that a Desa comprises 100 villages, that a Manjūla is equal to four Desas and that a Khandā comprehends a hundred Manjūlas.³ At all events Manjūla was larger in extent than Vishtra or Bhukti. The term Desa though generally applied to such large tracts as Maharastra, Karnataka is sometimes used for small ones. For example in a grant found at Goa, dated Śaka 532 (610-11 A.D.) the district of

¹ See Dr. Fleet's note on these terms for political divisions in *Corpus I*, vol. III, p. 29, n. 7.

² See I. A. Vol. VIII, p. 20 (grant of चातुर्व्य त्रिभुवनमहर्देव, dated Śaka 993, i.e. 1072-73 A.D.) and I. A. 12 pp. 244, 252 (grant of राष्ट्रकूट गाविंद, dated Śaka 855, i.e. 935-36 A.D.).

³ The term राष्ट्र seems to have sometimes been applied to territories that could not have been very large. For example राष्ट्र, the present Nalk District (to which see above). But in a grant गोपराष्ट्र itself is termed a विषय (I. A. B. R. A. S. II, p. 129). The *Madhapha* (about 430 A.D.) mentions countries called Nukumbhara, thām and Vātāratānā (S. B. E. Vol. 26, p. 43). The latter can be identified. The former was probably Khandesh. We have versions of a Nukumbhara which began to reign in Khandesh about 600 A.D. See I. A. Vol. VIII, p. 39.

⁴ 'शतमामो भवेदेश देशचत्वारि मण्डलम् । शतमण्डल भवेत्प्रण्ड नवप्रण्डा च मेदिनी' ॥ सप्तद्विखण्ड (Ed. Gerson Da Cunha) उत्तराय Chap. 4. The सप्तद्विखण्ड is it must be admitted a very late work and is not of much value as a linguistic source of ancient History and Geography. From the Ca. 15th plate of A. D. 994, we see that मण्डल was a sub-division of Desa (I. A. Vol. VII, p. 4). 'सातदशसेव मण्डल' तर्गन-काविकामदास्थानविनिर्गताय.

⁵ I. A. Vol. 15, p. 307 where Panakagrma is the name of a village belonging to the Vālaśūkaśahaya in 'शिवस्तीमण्डल' is referred to.

king Govinda III of a village named Limbaramikā in the Śrīka-chappa twelve in Pratihasthina bhukti (I I, Vol III, p 103) As the Godwari is one of the boundaries of the village granted Pratihasthina-bhukti here means the district round Pathari In the Radhanpur grant of Rashtrakuta Govind III of Śrī c 730 (807 A D in this case) we read of a Rasiyana-bhukti ¹ (Modern Rasin in the Ahmednagar district) The word Bhoga (derived from the same root as Bhukti) was employed to denote a territorial division The Satara copper plate of Vishnuvardhana I (the founder of the eastern Chalukyas) registers a grant of the village of Alandatirtha in the Śrīmadhyabhoga on the north of the Agrahara of Anopala and on the south bank of the river Bhimarathi (I A, Vol 19, pp 303, 304) Dr Fleet identifies Alandatirtha with Alundh, five miles north-east of Bhor and not with Alundi in the Poona district which is on the north bank of the Indrayani An Ahara as a sub-division was less than a Vishaya as we have seen and larger than a Pathaka A grant of Śiladitya VII dated in 447 of the Gupta valabhī era (i e 766-67 A D) speaks of a village Mahilabali in Uppalahetipathaka in Śrīkhetakahara (modern Kaira district in Gujrat) ² Besides the abovementioned Khetakadhara in Gujrat we find the following Aharas viz Govardhana ³ (modern Nasik district), Kapura ⁴ (probably on the sea coast in Konkan), Soparaka ⁵ (modern Sopara near Bombay), Mumala ⁶ (modern Maval in the Poona district), Kheta (modern Khed in the Ratnagiri district) It will have been noticed that many of these divisions termed Ahara go so back as the first century of the Christian era Patha or Pathaka was less than Vishaya and Ahara We come across a Pathanapatha ⁷ (modern Pathari) a Kalipakapathaka in Surashtra ⁸ (modern Kathiwar) a Kshipirapathaka in Varanavishaya ⁹ and Uppalhe, a pathaka ¹⁰ in the Kura district Sthali seems to have been a division

¹ I A. VI 99

² See Cor I III p 111

³ Nasik inscriptions No 1 Bom C Vol. 6 p 451

⁴ Nasik Inscriptions No 11 R m G V I 16 p 52

⁵ A S. W. I Vol. V p 26 (Kanhari Inscriptions No 5)

⁶ In an inscription at Karom dated in the 5th year of Valabhiputra's reign for which see J B B R A S V V p 54 No 18 p 462

⁷ See J B B R A S V I X p 75 a grant of the village of Karelka by the ruler of Devaditya dated Śaka 537 (610-11 A D)

⁸ Kanhari Inscriptions No 5 A S W I V p 26

⁹ I A. Vol VI p 15 (grant of भुवमेव II of Valabhi dated in वर्षभिमवत् 10 i e 620 A D) J B B R A S V V p 79 (a grant of धरसेन III of वर्धमि era 326 i e 645 A D)

¹⁰ I A. V L 15, 1 104

See above

larger than *Pejha*.* In the Khoh copper plate of *Maharāja Samkshobha* of the Gupta era 209 (552-29 A.D.) we meet with a *Minajetpejha*. *Pejha* seems to have been a term for a division of a country. A copper plate of *Maharāja Harin* of the Gupta year 163 (482-83 A.D.) records a grant of *Korparikagrāhara* to 'Uttarapajha'.* *Santaka* seems to have been another territorial subdivision.* *Bhāga* is a term for a territorial division occurs in the *Seoni* copper plate of the *Udayika Maharāja Pravarasena II*, where we read of a *Vennākarparabhāga** (which must have been near modern *Flichpur*). *Kampina** (sometimes written as *Crampina*) as a term for a division occurs very frequently. We read of a *Kundārga Kampina* which formed part of the *Kūnli* zone. A grant of the *Kadamba Jayakesin I* of Goa speaks of a *Kampina* called *Kaligiri*.* A copperplate of the *Śilīhara Bhaya* of *Pandhā* dated Śaka 1113 (1191-92 A.D.) records a grant in the village of *Kaseli* in the *Vijayekampina** (*Ashratem* in the *Ratnagiri* district). We find a *Mirinjekampina* 700 while the *Mirinjidesa* is also described as a 3000 province.*

In the epigraphic records we come across certain numbers that are always affixed to certain territorial divisions, e.g. *Rajipuri* 7½ lakhs, *Gangā* 11,16,000, *Nolimbā* 11,37,000, *Kavādāsi* 12,500, *Bārvāsi* 12,000, *Torāsi* 6,000, *Karāsi* 4,000, *Kūnli* 3,000, *Mirinjā* 3,000, *Konkanā* 1,400 (Northern *Konkanā*), *Tardāsi* 1,000, *Konkanā* 900 (Southern *Konkanā* near *Ga*) &c. The significance of these numbers we have discussed above. What is worthy of note is that these large round numbers are rarely affixed after territorial divisions of the northern portion of *Maharashtra*, i.e., the territory from the *Narmadā* to the *Godavari* and a little beyond the latter. It is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. This difference may be due to the fact that the southern portion of *Maharashtra* was closely connected with Southern India where these divisions with round numbers abound. In

* See I. A. 15 p. 187 where is recorded a grant of the village of *Vatagrama* in the *Jhpanakapetha* and in the *Ilavahāstathi* by *Varṣeṇa II* dated 572 A.D.

* Cor. I III p. 116.

* Cor. I III p. 100, 107.

* We read of a *Nagadevasena* also in the *Kārtalā* grant of *Maharāja Jayan*, ha dated 491-92 A.D. Cor. I III 117, 118.

* Cor. I III 241, 246.

* J. R. B. I. A.S. X p. 18.

* J. B. B. R. A. S. IX pp. 28-29. Grant dated in *अतीतकाले* 4200.

* See the report of the *भारत इतिहास सरोधव मण्डल* for Śaka 815 pp. 226, 225.

* Bon. C. Vol. I part 2 p. 155. See I. A. Vol. 16 p. 145 which records a grant by the *Chāḍa* & a *Vraja* in the name of *Chāḍa* in the name of *Śilā* in the *V. N. C. of anpana*.

Western writers who say¹ 'the great Empires of the East were in the main tax-collecting institutions. They exercised coercive force on their subjects of the most violent kind for certain purposes and at certain times, but they do not impose laws as distinct from particular and occasional commands. Nor do they judicially administer and enforce customary laws.' In my humble opinion neither the enthusiastic but exaggerated encomiums of the former, nor the biased and sweeping condemnation of the latter represents the truth about the ancient empires of India. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to convey a fair estimate of the state of government in ancient India.

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to make certain preliminary remarks. Ancient Indian writers had clear notions as to what constitute the essential elements of a state and their respective importance. The Arthashastra of Kautilya lays down that there are seven elements of the state, viz. the ruler, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend.² The Manusmriti inserts 'the capital' before the country and omits 'the fort' and says that each preceding is more important than each succeeding one.³ Thus we shall see the ruler was regarded as the most important element of the state. The King is consequently glorified as a veritable deity and anarchy is condemned in the strongest terms in such works as the Manusmriti and the Rāmāyaṇa.⁴ The latter work contains one of the most graphic descriptions of the evils of anarchy.⁵ But in spite of the fact that the office of the ruler was looked upon with the greatest veneration, Sanskrit writers did not evolve the theory that the king could do just as he pleased. In the Sanskrit writings we hear very little of the rights and privileges of kings, but the whole emphasis is laid on their duties. Instead of the favourite clamour of the Americans that taxation and representation go hand in hand

¹ See T. H. Green's Lectures on the principles of Political obligation quoted in Prof. A. Yangar's Ancient Indian Pol. p. 131.

² 'स्वाम्यमास्थानपददुर्गोदण्डमित्राणि प्रहृतयः' अर्थशास्त्र अधि० ६ पृ० २५५.

³ स्वाम्यमास्थौ पुरं राट् कशदण्डौ मुहूर्त्तथा । सप्त प्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताक्ष सव्यमुच्यते ॥
सप्तानां प्रहृतीनां तु राजदस्वासां यथाक्रमम् । पूर्वपूर्वं गुरवर्त जानीयाद्व्यमन महत् ॥
मनु० ७. २५४-७५.

⁴ 'इन्द्रवित्तेशश्चैव ब्रह्मणश्चैव वरुणस्य च । ऋद्वित्तेशश्चैव माया निहृत्य
शाश्वती ॥ यस्मादेषा सुरेन्द्राणां मानाग्नौ निमित्ती नृप । तस्माद्विभरवेषः सवभूतानि
तेजसा ॥' मनु० ७. १५५.

⁵ अयोध्याकाण्ड अ० ३४.

Indian writers say that taxation and protection of the people go hand in hand. The ideal king is he who taxes the people for their welfare, who maintains the rules of the *Varnas* and *Āśramas* and who affords protection to his subjects. This is the goal of kingship prescribed not only by altruistic philosophers and poets² but even by practical politicians like Kautilya trained in the hard school of intrigue and bloodshed³. In one place Kautilya says 'the welfare of the king lies in the welfare of his subjects, his happiness is the happiness of his subjects'. These words remind us of the famous proclamation of the late Queen Victoria which breathes the same sentiment in the words 'in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward'.

According to the theory of ancient Sanskrit writers on political administration the king was the head of the Government. He was to be assisted by a council of high ministers whose number varied from eight to twenty⁴. He was to convene a meeting of his councillors when any important business arose and was to act on the advice of the majority. The *Sūkrantī*⁵ says down that the king's council should consist of ten ministers and describes their functions. These ten ministers were — Purodhas (the priest) Pratinidhi (vicerent) Pradhana (Premier) Sachiva (Commander) Mantri (Councillor), Pradivaka (Chief Justice) Panita (Scholar) Sumantṛi, Amatya and Duta (Spy). We are informed by the *Sūkrantī* that according to some, the king's council should consist of eight ministers only, omitting the Purodhas (priest) and the Duta. The functions of these ministers were as follows⁶ — 'The Pratinidhi is he who knows what is to be done and what is not to be done. The Pradhana is he who has an eye on all things. The Sachiva is the man who knows

² Kalidasa says 'प्रजानामेव भूत्वर्थं स ताभ्या बलिमग्रहात्' रघु० १. १८ अथमममदावानमवेत्तस्य तु भूपतः । यो हरेष्टलिपद्भाग न च रक्षति पुत्रवत् ॥ रामायण अरण्यकाण्ड ६. ११

³ 'प्रजामुसे गुप्तं राष्ट्रं प्रजानां धर्हितो हितम् । नात्मापेयं हितं राष्ट्रं प्रजानां तु मितं हितम् ॥' अर्थशास्त्र अधि १. २. २०

⁴ Kautilya's Artha Śāstra p. २० 'मन्त्रिपरिषद् द्वादशमायान् बुद्धिमानि मानवा । पादशेन बार्हस्पत्या । विंशतिमिच्छन्तसा । यथासामर्थ्यमिति वीक्षन्त्य । आत्ययिके कार्ये योजनो मन्त्रिपरिषद् चान्य मूयात् । तत्र वरूषिष्ठा कायमिद्विक्वर वा मृयुस्तनुयोरत् ।'

⁵ S. B. H. Vol. XIII p. 68.

⁶ S. B. H. Vol. XIII (Artha Śāstra) pp. २०-२१

all about the army. The Mantri is one who is an adept in diplomacy. The Panchita is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals. The Pradhivika is he who has knowledge of men, Sastis and morals. The Amatya is known to be the person who has knowledge of lands and records. The Sumitra is he who knows of the incomes and disbursements.*

Passing over the members of the king's council and coming to the gradation of officers we see that according to the *Samitis* the village was the lowest unit of administration and the headman of the village the lowest officer. The *Manusmriti* says that the king should appoint officers for each village for ten villages for twenty one hundred and a thousand villages and that the headman of the village was to submit reports about his village to the head of ten villages and so on.¹ We learn from the *Sulvaniti* that an average village was a *Krodha*² in area and yielded a revenue of a thousand silver *Karshas*.³ The person appointed over ten villages was called a *Nyaka* the ruler of 100 villages was called a *Samanta* and one who governed 10,000 villages was called *Akrapita* or *Syana*.⁴ The *Sulvaniti* specifies another method of distinguishing the several titles of rulers of smaller or larger areas. A *Samanta* is one whose yearly revenue is from one to three lakh *Karshas*, a *Mandalika* between three to ten lakh *Karshas*, a *Raja* between ten to twenty lakh *Karshas*, a *Maharaja* between twenty to fifty lakhs, a *Satrapa*

* ग्रामस्थापिपतिं व्यादशगामपतिं तथा । विंशतीन् शतश च सहस्रपतिव च ॥
ग्रामशेषान् समुत्पन्नाग्रामिणं शनै रवयन् । दानेद् ग्रामदशाय दशो विंशतीणि ॥
विंशतीनास्तु तस्यै दशाय निवेयेत् । समद् ग्रामशतदारु सहस्रपत्ये वयन् ॥ मनुः
११५११७

* परमादीश्वर n h comment n आर्यभट्ट¹, दशग्रीविवात्मन् (Dr. Hermann J.) V 6 1331
'उक्तं च सत्परिमाणं तन्ना गते । यदादेरदृशुमष्टमर्यहन्तोऽगुलैः पद्गुणितश्चतुर्भिः ।
हस्तैश्चतुर्भिर्भवतोह दण्डं क्रोशः सहस्रदितयनं तेषाम् ॥' According to the *क्रोशः*
as a measure of length is 8000 cubits. So the area of a village would be (8000x8000) 64,000,000 square cubits or about 15,000,000 square yards, i.e. 35 miles (square). But according to the *शुक्लीति*, *क्रोशः* is 5000 cubits if *ग्रामाविति* be followed and 4000 cubits if *मनु* be followed and the area of a *क्रोशः* would be two crore and a half cubits with the *ग्रामाविति* reckoning. S. B. H. Vol VIII p 25

* A *Karsha* was equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *Rata* i.e. less than a *Tola* which equals to 66 *Ratas*. So 1000 *Karshas* would be equal to 833 *Ropes*.

* S. B. H. Vol VIII (S. K. R. 7) p 25.

income is between fifty lakhs and a crore, a Samrat's income is between one and ten crores, a Viraj's income between ten and fifty crores. A Sivabhumia's income exceeds fifty crore Varshas.¹ It seems that the titles given above and the incomes corresponding to each are more fanciful than real and display more the author's love for symmetry than his faithfulness to practical life. There is of course some basis of facts as to the titles of rulers. From the inscriptions we see that an emperor (Chakravartin) was usually distinguished by the titles, 'paramēśvati, paramabhaṭṭarika, maharajadhiraja, that a king was usually styled simply Maharaja, that feudatory princes were called Mahamanādesvati as the Śilaharīs of Thana.

Among ancient Classical writers Strabo gives a detailed and interesting account of the several officers appointed to supervise the several branches of administration. He says 'Of the Magistrates, some have charge of the market, others of the city others of the soldiery. Some superintend rivers, measure land, inspect sluices and have charge of hunters. They collect taxes and supervise occupations connected with land. They look after public roads and erect a pillar to indicate byroads and distances at every tenth Stadia'.² Again we are told that those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first inspect everything relating to industrial arts the second entertain strangers assign them lodgings and send them out of the country, the third enquire in what manner and at what time births and deaths occur not only for imposing taxes, but for preventing death, the fourth are occupied with retail and huter and weights and measures the fifth supervise manufactured articles and sell them by public notice the mixture of old and new being punished, the sixth collect the tenth part of the price of articles sold'. We shall compare this interesting account of the gradations of officers with the one contained in the Arthashastra and then try to find out what the inscriptions tell us about them.

(To be continued)

¹ See B. B. II Vol. XIII (शुक्रनीति), p. 21

² See M. Crandall Ancient India (Strabo) p. 53

³ Id. d. p. 54